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A Study of the Holy

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BY CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY

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THE LIGHT WITHIN

A Study of the Holy Spirit

BY

CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY, D.D.

RECTOR OF GRACE CHURCH IN NEW YORK

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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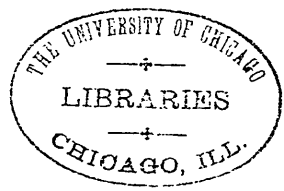

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PREFACE

A BOOK is like a placid river which reflects the scenes through which it flows. This book is therefore only in part the result of a good many years of meditation and reading; for I hope that it has taken into itself something of the life through which it has passed.

It has been forming during strenuous winters in the centre of great throngs of humanity and during quiet summers among the hills. I crave for the book that it reveal some of the sympathy which is given a life close to the people and some of the peace which comes from days spent beside still waters.

During the writing of the last portion of the book, and during the revision of all of it, the news of a furious European war has been daily finding its way into this tranquil mountain village. It seemed sometimes as if the world of the silent valley, with its warm sunlight and its gentle rain, could not be part of the world where men were being mowed down by merciless guns, where towns were in flames, and where frightened peasants were homeless and starving. The very contrast cried out for God's assurance of His own power in the world of men. So again and again I have referred to this war; and it would be high reward for the toil spent upon the book if, through it, the thought of the eternal presence of the Holy Spirit might bring solace to any one who is cast down, and

if, to such a person, every hard problem might seem to have its only solution in a surrender to the protection of God. We forget that God knows all our trouble and will yet bring humanity through.

Then, too, these pages reflect a sacred relationship. They would be much less confident did they not have the background of the parishes which I have served. A pastor, because he cares and because people are willing to tell him, learns from many who are in the depths how ready and how marvellous is the help of God. This book, belongs first of all to my parishioners past and present; and if they will have it, the book is theirs.

C. L. S.

INTERVALE,
14 *September*, 1914.

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THE LIGHT WITHIN

I

ATHIRST FOR THE LIVING GOD

I

IN a treatise published in the year 1913, a philosopher thus challenges the Church of our time: "The traditional doctrine of the Holy Spirit, neglected by the early theologians of the Church, even when the creeds were still in the formative period of their existence, has remained unto this day in the background of inquiry, both for the theologians and for the philosophers. . . . The article of the creed regarding the Holy Spirit is, I believe, the one matter about which most who discuss the problem of Christianity have least to say in the way of definite theory. . . . This article, then, should be understood, if the spirit of Christianity, in its most human and vital of features, is to be understood at all."[1]

Of the importance of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit there can be no question, and there is no doubt that, in spite of important utterances, the Church has not given the first place to the study of the Holy Spirit. It is true that "when the creeds were still in the formative period of their existence," important sections of the creeds were devoted to the Spirit; and as any one may see from Dr. Swete's impressive volume, *The*

[1] Josiah Royce, *The Problem of Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 14.

Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church,[1] the Fathers had a good deal to say about the doctrines so included. Dr. Swete, in preparation for his book, read again all the more important Greek and Latin patristic authorities of the first five centuries, and a few belonging to the sixth, seventh, and eighth, with this one theme in view. The main literary output during all these centuries was, however, upon the Christological controversy; not wholly perhaps because it seemed more important, but because it was more difficult to adjust. It is not always true that men talk and write most about what they feel most deeply. But with all these qualifications in mind, we must admit that seemingly the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, after the Apostolic period, did not engage the attention of the Early Church to the degree that one might expect.

Turning quickly to our own day, we find theology still absorbed with the Christological problem. Critical scholarship has been concerned with the sources for our knowledge of the historic Jesus. The problem has become historical rather than theological. Radical and conservative students have discussed the miraculous and the eschatological elements as the early Fathers discussed the two Natures and the two Wills. Even when one has passed to the simple and the unlearned, one hears the devout cry, "Back to Christ!"

Between the remote past and the present, the emphasis has been relatively about the same. Even St. Francis, most spiritual of saints, thought upon our Lord's outward body so persistently that his hands and his feet were said to have been marked as with the nails of crucifixion. When individuals or groups of individuals arose to claim for themselves a special endowment of

[1] 1912.

the Holy Spirit, the Church officially looked askance. "To pretend, sir," said Bishop Butler to George Whitefield, "to extraordinary gifts of the Spirit is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing." The movements which talked much of the Holy Spirit gave the Church an uneasy feeling: the bishops and the doctors preferred to abide by definite records and doctrines, and suspected a too enthusiastic reliance upon the Inner Voice. We may not forget, however, that when empires were crashing, the Church dared to believe that one man, the Pope, could be so dowered by the Spirit that his word could have divine authority. The later papacy became anything but spiritual, but in its inception the papacy may be reckoned as an example of trust in the Holy Spirit. Nor may we forget that at the Reformation, when the Bible was restored to the people, it was recognized by large sections of Christendom that not only the Church as a whole, but the individual Christian could, through the Holy Spirit, know the very words of God.

II

As Emerson could sing,

> "One accent of the Holy Ghost
> The heedless world hath never lost,"

so it is wise to look for the evidence of the hold which the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has upon the minds of men, not so much in formal theological or philosophical accounts, as in the aspirations and manifestations of our day. These may not seem theological or even religious. I believe that they indicate such a readiness to study the nature and work of the Holy Spirit as the world has not before known.

(1) First, there is a tendency to suggest that even

matter is spiritual rather than material. The scientific man is daily more in awe before the world which he tries to understand. Once matter was, by hypothesis, divided into atoms; in the seventeenth century, men spoke also of molecules; now the scientific man speaks of electrons as the smallest subdivisions, which seem to be not matter at all, but only charges of electricity. For those who are less erudite the news of ether in which light is transmitted, the news of wireless electricity, the news of radium, make ready some tentative explanation in which physical terms will be altogether inadequate.

(2) When we turn to humanity we find the estimate of a man's worth higher today than at any time in history. On the surface, New York, for example, seems a selfish and worldly city; yet I venture to think that there has never been a city in the history of the world wherein the fortunate and the happy have planned so incessantly as there to do good to the less favoured. It is a superficial judgment which believes the prosperous man seeks to get all he can out of humanity and then cast it aside as dregs. The man in the enormous modern city has a haunting fear lest he shall do less than his duty towards his fellows who need help. The hospital, the social settlement, the vacation house, the asylums for defectives, all proclaim the worth which today is put upon man simply as man, apart from his use to the community. Without formulating it for himself, the watchful citizen probably would bow his head in the presence of the maimed life before him, and permit the words to be said, "His body is the temple of the Holy Ghost." In any case, his attitude makes him seem prepared for such a declaration.

Should there come a fierce struggle between capital and labour, somewhat after the fashion of the French Revolution, I am quite sure that, now as then, many a prosperous man would refuse to raise his hand against his brother; and the sympathy for the poor would be greater from the rich in very many cases than from their fellow poor. This cannot seem a fanciful supposition, for one sees it in the faces of good and noble men; and one has, too, the proved records from history, for example, not only in such a crisis as the French Revolution, but in the days when the English Corn Laws were being repealed.[1] Only I seem to see in the great modern city this tendency magnified beyond all precedent. It is not so much the wish to be charitable, as to be just: there is less and less of what might be called patronizing condescension. There is the recognition of an inner worth in all men which demands homage.

(3) Further, there is today an unparalleled effort to attain human unity. This effort is manifested in the peace movements in their different forms. Already we have seen arbitration settle international disputes that a few years ago could have been settled only by war. Even the European War of 1914 may be the last tragic link in establishing another way of adjusting international wrongs. There is beginning to be argument that the time for independent nations is past and that the nations are to be fused into some larger administration which shall include the world; we are, that is, to become citizens of the world. Whatever the end of the tendency may be, there is a

[1] A fine instance of this trait in modern life is illustrated in the attitude of Lady Conant to her neighbours and tenants, in Rudyard Kipling's *An Habitation Enforced.*

tendency; and already the theory is passing into substantial deeds. In the year 1914, when the American Government seemed hopelessly at odds with Mexico, war was avoided by a patience and a hope that seemed to the world at first ridiculous, and then marvellous. The philosopher and the theologian have the right to ask whether in yielding to the reasonable voice of unity, the nations are not yielding to the uniting power of the Divine Spirit. Once more our time may be thought to be making itself ready to study the doctrine of the Holy Ghost.

Approaching the more distinctly religious aspects of this present tendency to unity, we witness the various attempts towards the organic unity of the Church. While some men are explaining that different ecclesiastical temperaments never can be persuaded to live in the same house, other men, with the most varied inheritance and taste, are sitting down to confer. These men, moreover, are constantly amazed at their sense of unity in the possession of a common Lord. In almost any report which one may read, one finds phrases like these: "I have the same feeling all of you have, that God Himself has prepared the way for a conference;" [1] "I am led to feel that this whole matter has been in the providence of God, . . . that we were led by His Spirit in doing just the things that we tried to do;" [2] "It is a matter of much satisfaction . . . to come back to this meeting feeling a reassurance . . . in the providence and presence and power of God and His Spirit." [3] The wise have seen the need of Church unity in the mission field and in the little

[1] Bishop of Fond du Lac, *The World Conference*, Publication 27: p. 28.
[2] Rev. Peter Ainslee: *ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] Rev. Newman Smyth: *ibid.*, p. 11.

hamlet at home; the loving have dared to put their prejudices aside and to long for it; now the wise and the loving, as they dare to confer, find themselves assured that it is possible, and they attribute the power to the irresistible strength of the Holy Spirit. Really to believe in the possibility of Church unity is a new thing in the world. The time of such a belief is a hopeful season to study the doctrine of the Holy Ghost.

One of the religious phenomena of our time is the rise in Southwestern Asia of Babism or Bahaism. It is described as not so much an organization as a spiritual attitude. As it touches various historic religions it tends to renew them, giving them spiritual content, rather than to change them.[1] In half a century, in spite of persecution, this movement counts its followers by the millions. Its appeal is purely spiritual, not only for the individual, but for the community. These people are confident that they are borne up in the Spirit of God; they suffer one for another because they recognize that they are more than kin through the same Spirit. On almost every page of their writings is the word *unity:* they long to bring all men to "the Tent of Unity," "the ocean of oneness." This they interpret as meaning that God alone is the One Power animating all things: men of all races and classes are "drops of one sea and leaves of one tree." "Why," Abdul Baha was asked, "do your guests leave you with their faces shining?" "I cannot tell you," he said; "but this I know: in all upon whom I look I see only my Father's face." In Persia, where one in three has been renewed by the teachings of Bahaism, there

[1] See *Bahaism — A Study of a Contemporary Movement*, by Albert R. Vail: Harvard Theological Review, July, 1914; pp. 339 ff.

is said to be a remarkable change for the better in morals and in all social relationships. The unity and character thus attained are simply the evidence of what the Holy Spirit will do for men who open their lives to receive Him.

(4) The mysticism that has come to the East with Bahaism has also come to the West, through a variety of popular movements, and through a band of exceedingly influential younger scholars. Dean Inge has defined mysticism as "an immediate communion, real or supposed, between the human soul and the Soul of the World or the Divine Spirit. The hypothesis on which it rests is that there is a real affinity between the individual soul and the great immanent Spirit."[1] While one band of apologetic scholars are saying that we must dig out the facts from the first days of Christianity before we can be sure of the truth of Christianity, another band, daily of greater influence, are saying that it is proved by experience in our own time that "the pure in heart shall see God," and they that do the will of God (as revealed, for example, in the New Testament) know the Truth. In his own life he has the vivid proof that Christianity is real. A present experience is the most valid test of the recorded experiences of the past. It is (to use formal language) the Holy Spirit in us who gives us to discern the true as well as the right.

Mysticism finds modern expression in "Christian Science," the real force of which, despite many fallacies and self-righteous assumptions, is derived from the discovery by its members, as for the first time, of the power of prayer. It is more plainly and consistently taught in psychotherapy, wherein the religious guide to health insists that the patient shall relax his body

[1] *Institutionalism and Mysticism*: Hibbert Journal, July, 1914; p. 766.

and his will, leaving the door open for the Spirit of God to enter and heal. Dr. Elwood Worcester recounts this eloquent testimony: "Several years ago a man of force and education came to me to pour into my ears the story of his complete ruin and downfall. I sat in silence for two hours listening to his terrible revelations, and as I listened I kept wondering: 'Is there any sound thing in you? Is there any relation of life you have not betrayed and ruined?' Then some new statement would sweep away my half-formed hope. At last he paused and asked me, 'What can you make of that?' I replied, 'I see two things. The first, of course, is suicide. You must often have thought of it. You cannot bear this burden much longer. You have been throwing life away with both hands, and now life itself is casting you off. You may go on for a month or six weeks, but I do not think you can bear it much longer.' He sighed and said, 'What else do you see?' I said, 'I see God. Did it ever occur to you that He might save you?' His face took on that stony, expressionless appearance which many men assume when one mentions the Name of God, and he said: 'I can't follow you; I don't know what you are talking about.' I said, 'That is not true; you know what I mean.' He said, 'Once or twice in my life it has come to me as in a dream that God might save me.' I said, 'Would you accept God's help if He offered it to you?' And he replied, 'I would.' I said, 'Will you ask for it?' and, throwing himself on his knees, he sobbed out a few broken-hearted words of prayer, and, covering his face with his hands, he knelt in silence for perhaps five minutes. When he rose he looked at me and I saw something in his face which was not there before. He said, very quietly,

'God has heard my prayer, and I am saved.' If the Lord Christ had entered the room visibly and, laying his hand on that man's head, had said, 'I will; be thou clean,' I do not believe that the change would have been profounder or more immediate. The vice and evil which had desolated his life simply ceased, and in their place a character of such purity, sweetness, and unselfishness was born that I cannot speak of it without shame for myself." [1]

A practical observer like Dr. Worcester brings us into the scientific bounds of psychology. But we may find other scientific basis for mysticism in present-day experience. This comes in the proved examples of telepathy. As there is an ether through which light can travel, so there is a spiritual medium through which the thoughts of man can annihilate space. Through love, experiment shows, men may be joined to those who are far away, and may help them. We are only in the borderland in the understanding of this phenomenon, but there is a reality there which is as important as it is baffling. It looks as if patient observation had, as by accident, found a way to peer into some of the mystery of the Holy Spirit. The scientific person would say that it is only an hypothesis to account for telepathy in such a religious way, but even he would confess that it is a perfectly possible hypothesis. A good many people would suspect that it was an hypothesis that would ultimately be demonstrated.

The kind of more serious reading which attracts many people always means a great deal. It therefore is important to notice the earnestness with which the books of Professor Bergson and Professor Eucken are

[1] *Religion and Life*, pp. 179 ff.

read today throughout Europe and America, for they are carrying philosophy more and more into the realm of the spiritual. And the wide popularity of the essays and poems of Rabindranath Tagore, with their deep religious feeling and their Oriental quietism, shows how eager men are for the mystical interpretation of life, hardly less in London and New York than in India.

(5) There is one more manifestation today which arouses a new desire to know more of the Holy Spirit. This is an enthusiasm for the Church Idea in unexpected places. One of these places is certainly Professor Royce's *Problem of Christianity*. To one who is devoted to the outward institution of the Church, it seems at first as if Dr. Royce were, from the realm of philosophy, justifying all the fervour of conventional churchmanship. Very moving are the passages where he incites his readers to be loyal to the Beloved Community. There is language close to the language of the Church which makes the Beloved Community the Body of Christ: to be loyal to the Beloved Community is to be loyal to the divine. But it appears at length that this Church is no organization that has existed; it is what we ordinarily call the Invisible Church, the community of faithful people gathered out of all times and races and creeds. We catch an echo of this in the words of Professor Eucken, "The main thing in Christianity is the creation of a purely inward world formed out of the relation of spirit to spirit, of personality to personality." [1]

Another recent book gives one a surprise. It is not surprising in its enthusiasm for the Church Idea, but in its interpretation of the Church Idea; for this in-

[1] *Can We Still be Christians?* tr. Miss Gibson, p. 18.

terpretation is not unlike Dr. Royce's, though the author was for many years a Jesuit priest. In Tyrrell's *Essays on Faith and Immortality* there is the contention that Christianity used the forms and organization of religious life as it found them, now Judaism, now Roman paganism, fusing them with its spirit till, like leaven in the meal, it tended to make them over, and so far as it spiritually triumphed did make them over. Though Tyrrell believed in an outward Church, he was not quite sure where it could be found. He asked if it might not be that one's union with the visible Church did not often need, like an ill-set bone, to be broken and reset. "As, one by one," he wrote, "the claims of the hierarchic Church dissolve under criticism, . . . we are driven more and more to content ourselves with a sense of spiritual communion with all lovers and martyrs of truth and conscience throughout the world in all ages, . . . and at last come to find, in this communion with the invisible Church, a far deeper source of strength and solace than that from which the duties of inward sincerity have in some measure shut us off."[1] The reader becomes aware that Tyrrell, cast out of the Roman Church, and refusing to enter any other organization, is writing of his own experience in the Invisible Church. "The Christ-like alone," he continued, "are genuine successors of the Apostles; to such only is it said (in no mere legal, official, fictional sense), 'He that heareth you heareth me.' . . . Could all these, and only these, be united in Œcumenical Council, there would Christ be in the midst of them; their utterances and teachings would be, purely and only, the product of spiritual experience, undistorted and unalloyed by the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

influence of intellectual curiosity, or of sacerdotal ambition . . .; their authority would be that of the collective conscience of humanity."[1] He feared that many were trapped with the externals even in our Lord's lifetime and never attained the spiritual verity: "As fleshly and unintelligent in other ways was the love of many of His followers, both men and women, during His life on earth. Is it, we may ask, a love of Christ, *as Christ*, as manifesting the Father? is it a love of Christianity? or is it merely a love of the sacred flesh and blood, to which is linked a truth divine?"[2] There is, we see, a new kind of enthusiasm for the Church from widely different sources, a demand that it be the medium and expression of the Holy Spirit.

Remembering the quotation with which this chapter began, we may question whether the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has been quite so much neglected as Professor Royce implies. Certainly the subconscious world, to say the least, has been studiously attentive to what might be called "accents of the Holy Ghost." To look into our own experience, whether as individuals or as corporate humanity, we must see that we have been gathering material for belief: and the mystery surrounding what our experience teaches us compels us to ask, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief." We know enough to long to know much more.

III

The doctrines of theology are founded upon experience and upon the necessary ideas deduced from experience. Experience is not upon a dead level in humanity: some men are upon the mountain tops and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 116. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

see wonderful things; others are in the deep valleys and see little. But the foundation of theology is the experience in which many share, not only in one age, but throughout all ages. The emphasis changes from century to century. Sometimes certain doctrines are so far obscured that the proportion of truth seems endangered; but no truth is lost. Whenever a truth is seemingly evicted, another generation demands its rehabilitation.

Theology often seems to the layman the ingenious invention of ecclesiastics and scholars. That it should seem so is the fault of the words with which it is clothed, — words that may have been clear and real to a past age but to ours appear archaic or artificial, or words that can have a meaning only for the technical student. The ideas that stand behind all valid theology are so vital that if some one did not give them utterance the stones would cry them out.

Those whose names are eminent as theologians are surprisingly modest, almost timid, in their conclusions. They assign weight to personal convictions for which they can find testimony in their predecessors, most of all in the authority of the Bible. Great doctrines like the Incarnation, the Atonement, or the Trinity have grown in the development of theology; and noble names mark the stages of this growth, — names such as St. Paul, Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm, or Calvin; but these names represent witnesses of truth, not discoverers, least of all inventors.

Nowhere do these general reflections apply with greater force than in that region of Christian doctrine which attempts to formulate a conception of the Holy Spirit. It is for this reason that we should turn to the Bible and devote ourselves to its message upon the

Holy Spirit. The wisdom of such a course is first of all because the Bible, revealing as it does a long history of God's manifestation to men, includes in this history the highest moments of the revelation of the Spirit. Further, constantly as the Church has reflected upon these highest moments, there never ceases to be the need for each generation to read its own experience in the light of such experiences as came to good men in the first century. We cannot otherwise understand what that ancient record means, for it is part of all life; and unless we read it in the light of what now happens to us, the primitive age must remain cold and barren to us. On the other hand, we cannot make a sane estimate of our own reasonings and intuitions unless we compare them studiously with the reasonings and intuitions of earnest and righteous men in the past, so far as the past is known to us. Most of all we need to know supreme moments in the world's experience, that we may properly test the supreme moments of our individual experience. So we may cut away the vagaries and rashnesses of our surmises; so, too, we may confirm and establish our suspicions of glory, our trembling hopes, our wonder, and our joy. Therefore the chapters which follow will attempt to learn from the Bible what news it can give us about this subject which besieges more and more our modern thought, — the sacred subject of the Holy Spirit.

II

THE HOLY SPIRIT BEFORE CHRIST

I

IN using the Bible as a text-book for knowledge of the Holy Spirit, we have not the same difficulties that meet the historical scholar. We are concerned not so much with the outward as with the inward. The exact course of events, their order and their importance, do not necessarily affect us. What we desire to know is what inner experiences are recorded. The test of these experiences lies not in the authority of an outward witness to them, but in the response which they kindle in our own hearts. This is a less tangible corroboration than is sought by the scholar who is studying the events in the earthly life of Jesus Christ, but it is quite as real, and is even more susceptible of exact proof. For the historical scholar must depend on witnesses in a dim past; the student of religious experience has the test at hand in the various lives of his own generation.

It ought to be said more often than it is said that though the Bible must be subjected to the same tests to which every ancient literature is now subjected, there is one outstanding element which differentiates it from all other books, even by such a test; namely, that it awakes in men of religious nature a response which is without parallel. The Psalms and the Gospels are not only mountain peaks in the Bible; they are the sum-

mits of all spiritual records. This is a truth confirmed not only by wide readers like Coleridge in the West, but by Buddhists in Japan[1] and by the Bahaists in Southwestern Asia.[2] This is a fact about the Bible which ought to be remembered by historical scholars. For students of the spiritual life it is paramount.

The Bible is, not only by faith but by experience, the Word of God. It speaks to all who have ears to hear as no other book speaks. To a man who does not believe in God, — if there is such a man, — it might seem that to assert so much as this is to prejudge the case. But when we do believe in God, when, moreover, we trust in His care for us, we must, — by the test of experience again, — believe that He has in some way made it especially His. This does not mean that we dare use it as we should use a geometry, a hard and cold text-book to save us from thought and from experience. It means that we must open it with humility and frankness, to discover how God speaks to us. Our preconceived notions of what would be a fitting method for Him to do so must be laid aside. We shall find surely that He deigns to use humanity as the medium of His speech. Whatever limitations such a human medium may involve, the divine authority must transcend; and the only way to discover this supreme message is by the test of our own lives. The word of Christ that the pure in heart see God applies to the experience which men may attain in the Bible, as it applies to all other heavenly vision. If the Word of God were superficial we might be robbed of the privilege of testing it by our living. The end of our search is not any outward rule or precept, not any

[1] See C. L. Slattery, *The Authority of Religious Experience*, pp. 197 f.
[2] *Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1914; pp. 339 ff.

warning or promise; but it is a life hid in God Himself.

The experience which comes to every man assures him that there is a Voice within him. The vital question is, Whose is this Voice? The psychologist might have three hypotheses. The Voice, he might assert, is only the voice of a man's subconscious self speaking through what we call conscience: it seems a voice distinct from himself; it is really only the voice of his profounder self. If this hypothesis seem inadequate, the psychologist might say that the Voice was the voice of the world-self, the collective human consciousness, the sum of human experience, asserting itself in the individual; just as the sanction of public opinion restrains or incites the individual in the outward circles of life. This might be thought to be only a fuller expression of the voice of the subconscious self; for it may be that through our subconscious selves we are joined at the base, as it were, with all other lives on the earth; so that the voices of the subconscious selves mingle and become a composite voice, thereby explaining why the voice seems apart from the individual in spite of its strange intimacy. The third hypothesis is the hypothesis of the religious psychologist. It is that the Voice is the Voice of God Himself, speaking through conscience to the individual soul. The previous hypotheses might both be considered parts of this final explanation. It has been sometimes said that the decision between these possible explanations of the Inner Voice will be the final battlefield of theology. It is the search for the proof that there really is a Holy Ghost.

For all these reasons we turn to the Bible as the chief authority and as an authority upon which, next

to our own hearts, we may most surely depend. If the Bible and our own hearts condemn us not, then we may have confidence towards God.

II

In the Old Testament the word which has been translated *Spirit*[1] had at first a material meaning rather than a spiritual. It was the breath that issued from a man's mouth. It was also applied to the blowing of wind. But the living breath, rather than the lifeless wind, was the dominant idea. It was the least material manifestation of a living soul which men could appreciate with the senses. Then it came to represent the inner life of man, the inner reality; and also, by an evident anthropomorphism, the invisible influence of God. There is significance in the fact that the writers of the Old Testament spoke more frequently of the Spirit of God than of the spirit of man.

The primary thought is that God is operative through His Spirit. "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," and chaos became the orderly world.[2] The Spirit was the source of the natural life of humanity also.[3] Thus it was the Spirit of the Lord that made Samson strong.[4] God is not absorbed (as in pantheism) in such a cosmical and human relationship. He is always with and in His Spirit, yet is always transcendent. The Spirit is the medium of His creative and sustaining operation.

Then it was discovered that the Spirit was the source of higher human endowments. To speak of only a

[1] רוּחַ

[2] *Gen.* i, 2; *Ps.* xxxiii, 6; *Ps.* civ, 30.

[3] *Judges* xiv, 6.

[4] *Gen.* vi, 3.

few, Joseph,[1] Balaam,[2] David,[3] and Micah[4] were obviously moved to authoritative or prophetic utterance by the Spirit of the Lord. The whole chosen people had the privilege of the guidance of God's Spirit.[5] The individual soul, crying from the depths, pleaded, "Take not thy holy spirit from me."[6] Another was so conscious of the unseen presence that he sang, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? . . . If I climb up into heaven, thou art there: if I go down to hell thou art there also. If I take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there also shall thy hand lead me: and thy right hand shall hold me."[7] The ethical idea was gradually appreciated in the Psalms and in prophecy, but there was not the same sense of the holiness of the Spirit as we find always in the New Testament.[8] For a long time the thought was wrapped up in the spiritual sustenance of what we call natural life and endowments.

This mingling of the seen with the unseen is not to be passed by as merely an early stage in spiritual progress. We may find it all through the history of man's highest efforts at self-interpretation. It marks the unconscious struggle to secure an inner meaning for physical experience. Even in our own time we are quickly passing from an age bordering upon materialism, because we feel bound to give every spiritual emotion some physical manifestation, and because we demand a spiritual foundation for every physical wonder. The Apostle said, "First, that which is

[1] *Gen.* xli, 38.
[2] *Num.* xxiv, 2.
[3] 2 *Sam.* xxiii, 2.
[4] *Mic.* iii, 8.
[5] *Ex.* xxviii, 3; *Neh.* ix, 20; *Isa.* lxiii, 14; etc.
[6] *Ps.* li, 11. This may possibly refer to physical life.
[7] *Ps.* cxxxix, 7 ff.
[8] The title *Holy Spirit* is found only in *Ps.* li, 11; *Isa.* lxiii, 10, 11.

natural; afterward, that which is spiritual." We are more and more inclined to say, the natural and the spiritual must go together. To stop with the natural is fatal; having won the spiritual, to despise its natural manifestation is perilous. We must still read the beginnings of Revelation to men with reverence.

III

Probably the most thorough revelation of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament is shown in passages where no name or title guides the reader. We have reason to believe that when Elijah failed to hear the divine message in the great and strong wind, in the earthquake, or in the fire, and recognized the holiest in the still small voice, then the Holy Spirit spoke to him.[1] When the prophets said, "Thus saith the Lord," it seems to us, as it seemed to the Early Church, that they felt the authority of the Holy Spirit. When David was convicted of his sin by Nathan's parable,[2] we say that David recognized the Spirit of God in Nathan's verdict, "Thou art the man."

So we must beware of any study of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament which confines itself to definite terms. Our own experience teaches us that deep religion often lives abundantly in men who dare not attempt definition. The Bible is full of experience which cannot readily be classified, but which stirs our hearts and makes us know that the Holy Spirit is near. Moreover, we think that the people themselves recognized Him though they had no power to describe their convictions of this authoritative unseen Presence.

The various stages of the Messianic hope beginning

[1] 1 *Kings* xix, 12. [2] 2 *Sam.* xii.

very early and continuing through the first years of Christianity are an instructive instance of the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In the time of Amos, who lived in the eighth century before our era, the idea of a Day of the Lord was obviously well established. Because Israel was a chosen people, therefore God would hold them to strict account and visit upon them their sins.[1] Apparently the people had looked upon the Day of the Lord as "the good time coming"; Amos pointed out that it would be a day of judgment: because, as we should now say, God's cleansing Spirit was to refine it as by fire. As time went on the past was more and more idealized, especially as the enemies of Jerusalem closed in upon it. Isaiah, loving his country, saw with despair the approaching wreck, a judgment for the sins of the people. But the God who was judging Jerusalem would also judge the enemies of Jerusalem.[2] And there would be among the people of Jerusalem a small remnant, which would be the cornerstone of the renovated Jerusalem;[3] and he saw in vision a Ruler of the house of David, anointed of God, to guide the new and happy order of things.[4] So, through the fall of Jerusalem, through the exile, through the return, through the feeble efforts to restore Jerusalem, through the buffetings received from strong neighbouring nations and world empires, the prophets continued to hold out the God-inspired hope. Who but the Holy Spirit could have breathed into religious leaders this undaunted confidence in the divine protection of a people who had received from the Lord's hand double for all their sins? The hope is recorded in the Old Testament, in the Old Testa-

[1] *Amos* iii, 2.
[2] *Isaiah* x, 5–16.
[3] *Ibid.*, xxviii, 16.
[4] *Ibid.*, xi, 1–5; xxxii, 1.

ment Apocrypha, in the Apocalyptic literature outside both, and in the allusions of the New Testament. The hope was deferred; the heart grew sick; and yet men hoped. The dream centred largely, and increasingly, in a visible leadership. The people, whatever the leaders might say, dreamed of generals and kings and bloody battles and savage triumphs over all their enemies. They looked for a leadership which should out-top the proudest achievements of those who had conquered the world in the past. But the finer sort expected in a new energy the power that is invisible. They proclaimed the promise that God would pour out His Spirit upon all flesh, so that the sons and daughters of Israel should prophesy, the old men should dream dreams, the young men see visions, and even the servants and handmaidens should be included in this inspiration.[1] Moreover, the grandeur of the Anointed Leader was to be that the Spirit of the Lord should rest upon him,[2] therefore the highest hope of Israel was in the power of the Spirit.

The experience in the Old Testament which led the Chosen People to their most noble advance in the knowledge and power of the Holy Spirit was the Babylonian Captivity. Hitherto they had associated God's presence with their own sacred country, especially with the Temple. Besides, they had found difficulty in assuring themselves that the gods of surrounding nations might not possibly be superior to their own Jahveh; consequently they had often lapsed into experiments with the worship of other gods. Now they were not only far from their sacred places, but the Temple itself was in ruins. They had a chance to live among people whose god had led them to

[1] *Joel* ii, 28, 29. [2] *Isaiah* xi, 2.

triumph over the people of Jahveh: they could see what this foreign god could do for men. Did their old allegiance waver? No: it grew daily stronger. Their conquerors asked them to sing one of the old Temple songs: but their tears choked them.[1] The outward symbols which had seemed necessary for Jahveh's presence were gone: His people were desolate and forsaken. Yet they could not turn to a god who did so little for the characters of men as the god of their captors. They were convinced, by experience, that there is but one God: Jahveh is the God of all men, He only can save. It was not only by contrast but by their inner light that they knew this. They knew that the Temple and Jerusalem were not necessary. They were aware that God's unseen presence, — that is, the Spirit of God, — was with them to comfort, to guide, to stay them. The greatest of the prophets, the Great Unknown, brought from this experience the most spiritual message of Israel,[2] and the hope of the future lost many of its material elements, and began to be the foreshadowing of a spiritual kingdom. It is in the gradual unfolding of this Messianic Hope that we feel the power of the Holy Spirit most in the Old Testament. It was in the most disheartening periods of national history that a life within the leaders bade

[1] *Ps.* cxxxvii.

[2] *Isaiah* xl ff. There may be a suggestion of the ways of the Holy Spirit in the fact revealed by modern scholarship, that the summit of the Old Testament, namely, Isaiah xl–lxvi, cannot be ascribed to any human name. It is not astonishing that other parts of the Old Testament cannot be ascribed to a definite author; this is a section that must have come through a commanding genius. But there is no name surviving. The author is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, only a voice; but the authority of the Spirit is self-evident. If it ever should be proved that John the Apostle had no connection with the authorship of the Fourth Gospel (a most unlikely event, I believe), this

the people hope divinely. There was a kingdom coming, no longer simply the kingdom of an anointed Davidic king. It was to be the Kingdom of God Himself. For God who had seemed to dwell apart, was coming as by stealth even into the harsh experiences of life. It was not only the royal Victor who should reveal Him; it was to be the Suffering Servant, first Israel itself in exile as conceived by the Great Unknown, then One who could by divine sympathy absorb and spiritualize human affliction, and be Israel in himself. Thought was turned more and more from a sovereign of earth: God Himself was to be the King of His people. The various apocalypses were coloured by vivid details, but their writers were groping with language to embody a hope beyond words. They were hoping for a way in which God could help men directly. As we look back we see that they were, by divine intuition, vaguely hoping for what man actually found in Jesus Christ and in the gift of the Holy Spirit, consciously received, at Pentecost and after.

The spiritualizing of a people through the sorrow and failure typified by the Captivity is daily repeated in the life of the individual. As we often see in the nation or the race only the magnified individual, so in the individual we see only the compressed experience

compensation might be remembered: the most God-breathing portion of the New Testament would then have no name attached to it but the Spirit of God, who, whatever the human medium, had certainly most to do with it. Assuredly, the finding of a human author's name to attach to the Epistle to the Hebrews is most unlikely. In all these cases, the great writers "who did their deed and scorned to blot it with a name" seem the greater because they have left no certain trace of their identity. It is never a scandal if critics are able to prove that the authors' names attached by tradition to certain books do not belong there: it may but show how profoundly the writers felt that they were instruments of the Spirit.

of the multitude or of the age. It is when a single man passes through the deep waters which seem about to overwhelm his soul that we find him casting out from the firm earth, spreading his wings, and daring to mount up in the open sky to reach God's heavenly consolation. He who before had looked for no support which did not consist in the material and the outward, gropes pitifully, yet grandly, for the unseen power behind and above the universe. The man who depends on the material and the outward may be, according to his own and his friends' estimate, quite religious. He may go to Church, read his Bible, say his prayers, show kindness to little children and the poor. And yet when the awful storm bows his head he will tell you that then first he seems to have understood the Spirit of God. A modern philosopher has told the story in memorable words. He describes a man pierced and stunned by grief. This man, says the philosopher, may accuse God of forsaking him, but if he is really religious, he will know that "part of the preciousness of his very idea of God depends upon the fact that there *are* depths, and that out of them one *can* cry, and that God is precisely a being who somehow hears the cry from the depths. God . . . is thus often defined for the plain man's religious experience as a helper in trouble. Were there no trouble, there would be, then, it would seem, no cry of the soul for such a being, and very possibly no such being conceived by the soul that now cries."[1]

[1] Dr. J. Royce, *Sources of Religious Insight*, pp. 228 f.

IV

One of the preparations for Christianity was the tying of the world together, not only in the succession of world empires that culminated in the dominion of Rome, but in the eclectic schools of thought that craved the wisdom of all nations. We may believe that as Christianity has been inclusive rather than exclusive in its history, so, at its start, it caught up the highest notes in all the religious life that had hitherto found expression in the life of man. Apart from its singularly authoritative source, Christianity is not a religion among religions, but is the summary and crown of the religions of the world.

We have long known that the Jews carried their religion with them to all the cities of the Roman Empire. We are beginning to learn by modern research that the adherents of other religions, especially of the Oriental Mystery Religions, were teaching the truths of life as they understood them in all the great centres. The followers of the old Greek philosophers were trying to reason out the riddles of existence; and so to the religions of feeling and worship were added the religions of thought. It was a time of dissatisfaction with the past. Because men of different trainings were facing one another, there was a shrewd and plaintive examination into the faith of one's neighbour. The very best men were ready for a message. And because, when Christianity came, they were ready to give attention to its preachers, they came into it; but they came with all the varied accumulation of their past. They found in it what was new, and they found in it the confirmation of the old. It is often pointed out by the hostile critics of Christianity

that it shares much with Greek Philosophy in its doctrine of the Logos, with Oriental Mystery Religions in its use of Sacraments, and so on indefinitely. But this is the glory of Christianity. It crowned not only the Jewish prophets, but it gathered into itself the knowledge and aspiration of all the religious leaders whom the genius of Rome had brought into its vast melting-pot, ready for the manifestation of the Christ who belonged to them all. Thus it was through the important cities of the Roman Empire, as through the neck of an hour-glass, that all the sands of religious thought seemed to pass just before the Christian era. Each phase of religion had its loyal Diaspora in these cities, and every one found eager investigators from the cosmopolitan population.

The Hebrews began this absorbing process in the Babylonian Captivity. One of the means by which they recovered their sense of the divine protection, in a land far from their ruined Temple, was by reflection upon the doctrine of angels, which they found in their strange home. Not only did they have the news of the doctrine; but they heard descriptions of the magnificent Oriental court. They saw that the great king did not have immediate contact with his subjects, like the pastoral kings of their early history; the commands of the great king filtered down to the people through a vast array of intermediaries. And so it was, it is commonly thought, that at this time the Jews began to place emphasis upon angels. It seemed to them that the King of all the universe must have a state at least equal to the pomp of an Oriental court. So God seemed farther and farther away, as they conceived that His glory was magnified. It was their exact thought which Milton caught:

"His state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed
And post o'er land and ocean without rest."

And yet these messengers, while they, in one sense, made God seem far away, in another made him perpetually near. Thus they accounted for their new sense of His nearness. Dr. Sanday interprets the idea of angels as the effort to express the conviction "that the space around us and above us is not merely blank or vacant, but full of God's presence. His watchful care reaches to us and sustains and protects us every one." [1] It may be said that this idea is not so high as the conviction that made an earlier age believe that God walked in the garden in the cool of the day: God seems less immediate. But it is something that in an age of less simple faith men found a way to believe that God's strength and peace protected them. In a similar way the Church of the Middle Ages lost the conviction of the Early Church that the divine is eternally near to the waiting heart, but saved its faith by finding in the Sacraments the thin places in the thick wall which hid them from the divine, and through which they could hold converse with the unseen. These are perplexing considerations, but we must at least imagine what they may have contributed to the fuller knowledge which was to come.

This idea of angels learned in Babylon, may later have been confirmed by a kindred idea of the Greeks. The Greeks thought of the divine as split up into infinite spirits, so that there was a spirit in the stream, a spirit in the tree, and so on without end. These spirits were sometimes malevolent, sometimes kind. But in any case they declared a spiritual reality be-

[1] *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 323.

hind the material order. Socrates in speaking of his *δαιμόνιον* may have been reaching out for an explanation of the Voice of the Holy Spirit in his heart. All these expressions of confidence in the spiritual must have helped to give men courage to believe that God sends out His Spirit to live everywhere, and to be the life of every living being and thing.

The Old Testament Apocrypha suggests this period of transition from the deep conviction of a national religious experience to the wider and more perplexing conviction of an experience which sought contributions from the whole world. The atmosphere of speculation is over almost every page. The attempt to guard God's transcendence was side by side with the attempt to make heaven touch the earth. Thus the highest note of the Apocryphal Books was sounded in the sonorous praise of Wisdom. But Wisdom was abstract, a theory rather than a life. The Hebrew idea of Spirit was joined to the Greek idea of Wisdom, but the aims of Greek philosophy largely overlaid the concreteness of Hebrew insight. If one may use a modern instance, it is as if a man in our time had left the warm heart of the Christian Church with its frank devotion to a personal Christ, and had taken up his abode with the Society for Ethical Culture, exchanging enthusiasm and personal loyalty for hard-headed obedience to an ethical system which on the whole had been found to make for righteousness and human order and happiness. Like all comparisons in history, this is not exact. There were gains with the losses. In its divinely governed way, humanity in this age between the Old and the New Testaments was making ready for a new advance in the knowledge of the Holy Spirit. Less intense, so far as

Judaism was concerned, it was more comprehensive. There was loss that there might be new gain. But no evolution of humanity unaided could bring the knowledge. It could only make itself ready.

It was particularly in Alexandria that the speculation and faith of the world met just before the Christian age. The influence that fell upon Christianity from Alexandria was more evident after the days of Clement, Origen, and Athanasius;[1] but St. Paul's Epistles and the Fourth Gospel show the traces of Alexandria, especially in their thought about Christ. In spite of the Messianic Hope, the strictest Hebrew thought was clouded by despair, owing to the apparent impossibility of keeping the Law and so being acceptable to God. The supreme contribution of Hebrew theology, unaffected by extraneous influence, was that it permitted nothing to detract from the awful purity of Jahveh's perfect righteousness.

Philo's is the leading name of religious thought in Alexandria at the opening of the Christian era. In him we see Hebrew theology mellowing under the sunnier, less rugged intuitions of Greece. He perceived in the Spirit "the wise, the divine, the indivisible, the undistributable, the good Spirit, the Spirit which is everywhere diffused, so as to fill the

[1] For an example of the roundabout way in which extra-Biblical thought has influenced Christianity, note how Aristotle's philosophy was carried into Italy. Eastern disciples of Aristotle had expounded him to Mohammedan students, first in the East, then in southern Spain. A famous traveller, Albertus Magnus, was the link that brought their enthusiasm to Thomas Aquinas, who, in consequence, translated Aristotle, as well as made his teaching a controlling influence in his *Summa*. When Dante had caught the system in his Divine Comedy, the story was complete. See P. H. Wickstead, *Dante and Aquinas* (Jowett Lectures, 1911).

universe."[1] The spark of goodness found in even the worst men is from the fire of the Spirit. Philo felt that any writer might be inspired by the Spirit. "Sometimes," he wrote, "when I have come to my work empty I have suddenly become full, ideas being, in an invisible manner, showered upon me, and implanted in me from on high; so that, through the influence of divine inspiration, I have become greatly excited, and have known neither the place in which I was nor those who were present, nor myself, nor what I was saying, nor what I was writing: for then I have been conscious of a richness of interpretation, an enjoyment of light."[2] There is, in Philo, the daring to be familiar with the divine, after the Greek fashion; but there has been a loss of reverence, a toning down of the moral ideal. One knows, in reading him, that one has escaped from the bracing air of the Old Testament, in spite of a certain contribution.

The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament is first the life-giving source of the external world, inanimate and human; then the guiding power of the nation, its soul, its hope; and, finally, the consolation and refuge of the individual. In general the Spirit in the Old Testament is God at work. There was still, for the most part, the tendency to look for God in the outward and the distant, but men were growing towards the knowledge that the unseen power of God is at work in the silence of their inmost hearts.

When all is told, however, it is safe to say that, had it not been for the experience of New Testament times, the intimations of the Holy Spirit would not

[1] *On the Giants*, § vi, *tr.* C. D. Yonge.
[2] *On the Migration of Abraham*, § vii, *tr.* C. D. Yonge.

have been sufficient to make men conscious of the source of the help which came to them individually and together. Their moments of highest emotion would still have been without a name, so far as they themselves could tell it. Men might still be saying, as good men often said in the days of the Apostles, "We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost."

III

CHRIST'S REVELATION OF THE SPIRITUAL

I

ONE of the most significant clues to an understanding of the New Testament is the sentence, "These things understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him." [1] There are two ways to study the chronology of the New Testament: one is to fix the approximate date when an idea found utterance; the other is to fix the approximate date when an idea, uttered perhaps long before, became generally understood and appropriated. There may easily be much discussion and doubt about the fixing of the original pronouncement leading to a new point of view; it is comparatively easy to know when men came to admit the principle. Thus we may find it difficult to say whether St. Paul's Epistles, certainly written first, should be placed before the date of the Synoptic gospels; because the Synoptic Gospels represent an earlier tradition, whether oral or written, and St. Paul gave only his own words for the immediate need. But, on the other hand, it is safe to say that we know fairly well, through St. Paul's Epistles, what people in the fifties (of the first century) were thinking about certain important aspects of Christianity; and through the Synoptic Gospels, we

[1] *St. John* xii, 16; *cf. Mk.* ix, 32; *Lk.* xviii, 34; *Jn.* x, 6; etc.

know what people in the sixties and seventies were thinking of other aspects of Christian thought. Furthermore, whether the author of the Fourth Gospel was St. John or not, we know certain other truths that had come home to the minds of the Christian community at the turn of the first century into the second, through the testimony of the Fourth Gospel. Of course there is a very solid substructure in all these writings which makes the foundation of all alike. It is when the point of view changes that we perceive the growth of the acceptance of certain truths. The New Testament is first of all a revelation of God to man; it is also a revelation of the process by which man received this revelation.

Remembering this, we may glance at certain outward facts.

II

Scholars today feel that they know measurably well the oldest source of the Synoptic Gospels which they call Q. Something like this must have been in circulation, both in oral tradition and in written form, when St. Paul was writing his first epistles. It gives us (with the help of later writings) a picture of the way our Lord affected His own generation.

Most scholars would agree, I think, that our Lord used the Messianic Hope only as a basis for the beginning of His message. He was to outrun its most ardent dream. In some ways it was to obscure His intrinsic mission. But He was incarnate, and His mission was to live God into men, not simply to display God before men. So there must be a point of contact, and that must be the best that men had hitherto dreamed. The hope of Israel was the highest

point; so on it, as on a mountain top, Jesus stood with His friends and looked out over life.

It is easy to discover how the disciples first looked upon their Master. They loved Him more and more; they lost their lives more and more in His will; more and more they tried to see with His eyes. But their preconceived idea of the Messiah, even when they began to identify the Messiah with our Saviour, was of a general, a ruler, a man successful in this world in the sense of this world. It is useless to say that they had the words about "the Suffering Servant" in the latter part of the prophecy of Isaiah to guide them to another conclusion. As the Great Unknown Prophet had the experience of the Captivity to teach him the deep and hard lesson, so it was only by experience that the disciples were to learn that the Ruler of all was to be "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief."[1]

The fact that it was Christ's words, not his deeds, which were set down first, at least chiefly, has large significance. The deeds, even though they were miracles and quite astonishing, were all the result of compassion for a weary and tempted humanity. Had He done a miracle for His own glory or power, it would have been different. Even John Baptist from his prison doubted whether so mild a leader could be the promised Messiah; and our Lord sent back only the news which John must already have well known: "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. And blessed is he, whoso-

[1] *Isa.* liii. 3.

ever shall not be offended in me."[1] Therefore, the words seemed more like a Messiah's than the deeds. "He speaks as one having authority, and not as the Scribes," they said.[2] Or again, "Never man spake like this man."[3] So the words, especially the lashings of the Pharisees, and the passages wherein He set His "But *I* say unto you," against the words of Moses, seemed more regal. To the very end the disciples looked for the moment when He who had never used force would begin to use it. Instead, at each turn, the Man whom they trusted to be the Messiah yielded to the force excited against Him, and raised not a finger, nor allowed a finger to be raised, in His own defence. So He died between two thieves, and answered with death the hideous cry to save Himself and come down from the cross.

Meantime it is evident that these disciples were gradually learning a new lesson. They were being taught that real power is unseen. The influence of one poor man's love was stronger than Cæsar's legions. They wanted Him when He was absent, even in such trivial need as that of a hard rowing across the lake.[4] He had an influence on people who were beyond the reach of His voice or His glance.[5] In a word, they were discovering, however slowly, that our Lord's power was spiritual.

As it showed itself apart from physical force, so this power of Christ was derived or reinforced apart from outward symbols. The Temple and the synagogue were used whenever available, but it was no uncommon thing (indeed it must have been common)

[1] *St. Matthew* xi, 4–6.
[2] *St. Matthew* vii. 29; *St. Mark* i, 22.
[3] *St. John* vii, 46.
[4] *St. Mark* xvi, 48.
[5] *St. Luke* vii, 2 ff.

for Him to spend large parts of the night, — if not all night, — in prayer, wherever He might be, especially in the open air, on the mountain or hill, under the shadow of darkness. And it was in a garden, quite bare of any outward help or inspiration, that He braced Himself by prayer to meet the final scene.

What the disciples would have said ultimately about the spiritual life of Christ, influencing and controlling men wholly apart from force, it is difficult to conjecture. But it seems quite clear that, in spite of all the experience which their months with Jesus had brought to them, they all felt that Good Friday was the end. "We hoped," they confided to the Stranger on the walk to Emmaus, "that it was he which should redeem Israel."[1] Their hope was shattered by the success of the Cross. They had learned transcendent lessons about the spiritual quality of the life of Jesus Christ, but the schooling was only begun. They could not as yet imagine that they could have the joy and peace, which during their discipleship they had known, without the physical presence of the Saviour.

III

Then came the assurance of Easter. We do not need to piece together the reports, as they have come down to us, of our Lord's appearances to His disciples after His resurrection. We need only to take Christian history as it is plainly recorded in the New Testament and afterwards. There is one fact too evident to be escaped; namely, that in an incredibly short time the disheartened disciples more than recovered their reliance upon the leadership of Jesus

[1] *St. Luke* xxiv, 21.

Christ. They had evidence that He who had died on Calvary was alive. They believed that He lived, as they had believed in the after-death life of no one else.

It is perhaps impossible to reconstruct from the records of a unique event the exact details of the way in which our Lord demonstrated to His followers that He was alive after His death on Calvary. It is not difficult, however, to gather what impression He made upon them.

First of all, the hope, dashed on Good Friday, was renewed. This was, after all, "he which should redeem Israel." And in the hope renewed came the confirmation of His method: He who used spiritual means to win was justified. There was still more. Whatever of substantial accidents there might be in the appearances of the risen Christ, His presence was not in the ordinary sense a physical presence. There were outward assurances; the disciples were not looking upon a ghost, a wraith; but the presence was in some indefinable way spiritualized. His presence before them was not as their presences one to another. If anything, it was more real and intense than in the past. Their hearts burned within them, as they communed with Him.[1] The disciples had learned their second lesson in the power of the Spirit.

IV

The visible manifestations of the risen Christ ceased. But the disciples were not dismayed. They had discovered how marvellously their Master and His message were vindicated after His submission to death;

[1] *St. Luke* xxiv, 32.

and they were expecting some new development which would be better than all the past.

It is necessary to reflect upon the experience of these men. They who had felt that the divine was far away, that nothing less than the formidable grandeur of the Temple could welcome Him, had in some mysterious way felt the infinite nearness of God in the friendship and love of Jesus of Nazareth. In the days before Christ was their master, God was to be served, obeyed, feared: they had many rules. Now the barriers between them and God were suddenly stripped away, and God in the face of Jesus appealed to them for love. Their lives were the least hard among their countrymen, therefore Christ chose them. But at the beginning, even their lives were hard. It was the period of association with Him that opened their lives, just as, after the cold of winter, the successive days of a warm sunlight open the shivering buds of nature. They were, by their experience, capable of receiving what no men in history had ever received in the same measure. The Spirit of God, we feel quite sure, had guided men in all ages; but men had not known the high source of their guidance. They lacked the joy of this highest assurance though they went forth to their God-filled work. As we watch the insect weaving by instinct a web which the well-drilled mathematician and the skilled artisan might envy, so we know that much of man's noblest achievement, in spite of all his boasting, is done in the realm of instinct. But there come turns in the road where man emerges from instinct into knowledge or reason or consciousness. To some extent, at least, he knows how and why. In the topmost moments he knows the source of his suc-

cess: he bows down and thanks the loving Spirit of God.

To such a turning point in the history of humanity the disciples had come through the ineffable experience with the visible Christ, both before and after His resurrection. They had gone to depths they never suspected: they had whispered, with wide eyes, when told that some one was to betray the most unselfish of masters, "Lord, is it I?" They dared not put any limit to their depravity. And, on the other hand, they had risen to heights altogether beyond their former vision or hope: they had tasted love from the centre of its life, and the high walls of heaven gleamed before them. After the resurrection nothing daunted them. Even when they were conscious that they had looked upon His presence for the last time, St. Luke tells us, they returned to Jerusalem with great joy.[1] They were ready for the best. Even had we no record of it, we should know that they were filled with expectancy. Now they should have the best that could be.

V

Thus the disciples reached the day when the Holy Ghost was to be given to them in a manner so exultant and unmistakable that they seemed never before to have known the Spirit of God. It was to be a day of the human recognition of the invisible and constant nearness of God. Whether God was to do more to make His presence felt, we need not ask. It is enough to know that, in the disciples, humanity was made thoroughly ready and prepared to be conscious of the divine presence. And so the Holy Ghost was to be given, because

[1] *St. Luke* xxiv, 52.

on that day the Holy Ghost was to be received. A gift includes reception as well as the generous offering. Man must receive what God gives; else there is no gift. Whenever in the remote past men have been conscious of God's inspiration, they have received the gift of the Holy Spirit. But it was only when men had been prepared, as the Incarnation did prepare them, that their consciousness of the Invisible God could so far possess them that they were to be made irrevocably sure of their union with the love and power of the Holy Spirit.

IV

THE DAY OF PENTECOST

I

NOW we come to the Day of Pentecost. Christian scholars have too often seemed to speak of the gift of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost as an arbitrary bestowal of God's Power; as if God had in some way changed in His attitude towards men, and had then done a new thing. The event has seemed too much separated from previous history and from the experience of our own time. For this reason, it may be, there has come to be a tendency to pass the occasion over, as if nothing had happened beyond the religious excitement of a group of enthusiasts under the influence of the memory of the Lord Jesus.

Whether or not we class the event of Pentecost as a miracle, in the ordinary sense, is of slight moment. Something of extraordinary significance and importance for humanity happened then. If we can find ground in the meagre account of the day to attach any of the incidents to details of our own experience we shall be wise. Thus we may feel the reality of the occurrence. We must recall that St. Luke wrote his record as he received it from others, with the necessary condensation to fit it into his narrative of the Apostolic Church. It is a mere skeleton: our own intimations must fill it out and make it live.

II

The first detail to bear in mind is that the disciples were conscious that they had seen the Lord Jesus in the last of the resurrection appearances. Now every mourner would probably give evidence that the vanishing of his beloved through the curtain of death inevitably brings to his mind and heart certain aspects of the life and character of his beloved which had quite escaped him in the visible presence. The separation of death has in it perhaps this divine compensation for its desolating loneliness, that it teaches the survivor a knowledge and a love which unbroken companionship cannot reveal. The soul, separated from the accidents of the body, is a reality in an entirely new way.

It is impossible not to believe that, quite apart from the growth of their spiritual perceptions, the disciples were approaching the Day of Pentecost with an ever-deepening sense of who their Master was. They must have felt His love, His protection, His wish to have them like Him, as never before. They said over to one another words that He had spoken to them in Jerusalem or in Galilee, and these words suddenly glowed with a meaning that they did not before suspect. Because He was gone from their sight all who had loved Him had a new and tighter bond of love with one another. As they remembered how He had turned aside on their walks through town or countryside to help any forlorn or troubled representative of humanity, so their love, intensified with every common meeting together, went out beyond their own immediate circle. As people say in gratitude after a death, so they must have said,

"Now that we cannot minister to Him, we must do for others, everywhere, what He has done for us."

We cannot help imagining the conversations in the upper room, — where perhaps He had eaten with them the Last Supper, and where perhaps He had appeared to them in His risen body. They must have gone over all the days when they had been with Him, especially the days of the last earthly week. How their faces must have glowed, how their eyes must have shone, how their voices must have broken with subdued and beatific emotion, as they recalled His patience, His courage, His strength to endure, His never-forgetting love. Each meeting together at the appointed times must have been more and more exciting and intense. The words of simple testimony could not have been more thrilling than the eager faces straining forward to listen, to catch every word, to confirm, by the escaping interjection or by the quick movement of the hand, the glory of that beautiful past.

So the days of expectation passed to the Day of Pentecost.

III

On the Day of Pentecost Jerusalem was full of pilgrims. From St. Luke's account in the Acts we perceive that he intends the reader to see that the Jews who came up to the feast were largely Jews of the Dispersion,[1] the Hellenistic Jews. We now know[2] that every Eastern nation had its "Dispersion" in the Mediterranean world. There was a general characteristic attaching to all these devoutly religious

[1] *Acts* ii, 9–11.

[2] *Cf.* Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 42.

people who carried the traditions of their ancestral religions into a new environment. That characteristic was religious unrest, with its corresponding quality of keen religious expectation. There was a tendency among earnest people to be eclectic in their religious thinking. As people flowed together in the unity of the civilized world, created by the genius of Rome, each man began to look into the face of his neighbour to discern what might be there to be desired and if possible to be won. It was a condition not unlike our own; for a world-spirit is again pervading the nations, and cosmopolitanism may succeed to patriotism. There are losses now; there were losses then. But the whole attitude made for the open mind, the eagerness to expect some new and better way of life.

In the last day or two before the Feast, the disciples had seen pouring into the city these loyal pilgrims, still Jews in a sense, but more, citizens of the world, — men from Media, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, Rome, Crete, Arabia. Different as these pilgrims were in outward manners and dress, there was the same upward, waiting look upon all the faces. Any one who has journeyed to a great religious convention knows the subdued excitement that attends the gathering of the delegates. There is the atmosphere of expectancy. From these conventions men often gain new visions, find incentive to struggle for a hard end, and are aroused to break the bonds of some ancient temptation. The scoffer and the cold religionist smile, and call the power gained by these periodical meetings "convention religion." It is true that it does not always wear well, and the enthusiasm not infrequently issues in neither permanent character nor definite action. But no one who cares deeply for

religion can watch the modern railway train bearing its last groups of restless passengers to a convention in the interests of the religious life without being moved. One wonders if something new and great may not happen. One dares to hope so, in any case.

Now, even if we were not learning more and more of the religious outreaching of the first century, our own experience must teach us that the disciples of the recently vanished Lord Jesus could not have seen the gates of Jerusalem crowded with the incoming throngs of pilgrims without being profoundly stirred. This day of Pentecost was a day when expectancy was in the air. The expectancy of the upper room where the friends of Jesus gathered early on the morning of the Feast was brought close to the expectancy of the city, which on that day had become a world in itself. It was as if two highly charged bodies had been brought together. There must have been the flash of fire as they touched. That flash was love. On this first day in the week they could not fail to live again with especial vividness the resurrection morning. As the love and power of Christ possessed their minds they felt that the room was too small for them. They must have the freedom of the city, of the world. Their lives were open, — may we not believe it? — as lives never yet had been open. Christ within, the world without, had made a broad highway on which the Spirit of the Living God might enter. It was the fulness of time for the supreme manifestation of God's Unseen Holiness.

IV

Dr. Swete believes that St. Luke, in his account in the second chapter of the Acts, means to imply that

the physical accompaniments of the descent of the Holy Spirit were only a vision, albeit a vision corresponding to "a great spiritual fact which at the same moment accomplished itself in the experience of all who were present." [1] Dr. Swete's caution and reverence make one hesitate to see more of literalism in a passage than he would ascribe to it; but I believe the rushing, wind-like sound, and the appearance of fire upon the heads of the assembled brethren, had a basis in physical phenomena. The tradition of the event which St. Luke had received and reported meant more than a subjective vision. By some outward manifestation the disciples were aware that they had received a Presence, identified with the life of the Lord Jesus, and so identified with the Father Himself, — the Presence of the Holy Spirit.

Professor Bergson[2] has pointed out that the intensity of our inner emotions, which seem at first wholly spiritual, can be measured only by the effect which these emotions cause upon the organs of the body. He shows that it is nonsense to speak of restrained emotions which are all the more intense because giving no sign of organic disturbance. Should we eliminate all tendency towards muscular contraction in anger, for example, we should find that there had been no real rage, only the imagination or idea of it.

So much we may take from psychological testimony. Now let us think of any roomful of people swayed by the reception of a great enthusiasm. When the ruler of a nation enters an assembly, when by combination of his presence and his words he stirs the people to a love for their country, one of the very

[1] Dr. H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 71.
[2] *Time and Free Will*, tr. Pogson, pp. 29 ff.

deepest emotions known to man takes possession of the whole mass. In almost the highest moment there is silence: the voice of the speaker seems to go out into vacancy, because the listeners apparently have stopped breathing. The very highest moment is marked by a feeling so intense that the whole body quivers. It is as if a mighty wind swept the whole crowd of people: they are literally stirred and swayed, though the sensation is caused by a spiritual conception, and not by an outward physical phenomenon. The same evidence of emotion, in its utmost pitch, may come in the presence of a hero of any cause, surrounded by those who revere and love him, at the moment when, by word or other symbol, the affection, the hope, the aspiration of the whole group flow together, tears are in the eyes, the throat fills, each man is supremely moved. It was so, for example, when John Bright in his later years appeared before his old constituents in Manchester or Birmingham. The crowd that packed the large hall so closely that all seats were removed and each man stood tightly wedged against his neighbours, would sometimes, in the most exultant instant of enthusiasm, sway in such fashion that wide spaces would be marked in a hall where it seemed impossible to admit another man.[1] The sound of such a movement is not noise. It is like the sudden gust of wind, the symbol of the spiritual influence.

It is possible, of course, to say that the wind was the ordinary breeze of nature. One might say that it was a mere chance that it came at this time to reinforce the inner influences of a psychological moment. Or, one who finds nothing accidental in a world dominated always by an Indwelling God of Love, might

[1] *The Life of John Bright*, by G. M. Trevelyan, p. 269.

say that the wind was sent to help the disciples on towards the summit of their experience. Had there been this sudden gust from the outer world, the disciples would certainly have remembered it. For, though they could not have identified the Spirit with the wind, any more than Elijah on the mountain identified the strong wind with God, yet in such crises of life, every surrounding circumstance is printed on the memory. The experience, like a flashlight, brings out every detail with a startling, never-to-be-forgotten vividness. This is all possible; but it does not appeal to the highest of our own experiences. "The sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind" was, may we not say, the result of the reception of the Spirit, not a contributing cause. It was from within outward; it was the answer of the heart of man to the whisper of God.

What immediately aroused the disciples in their upper room on the morning of Pentecost cannot be difficult to surmise. First, they were all together in the most intimate fellowship, united by the remembrance of a common Master. They were in a city throbbing with expectant religious enthusiasm. In a short time Peter was to be their spokesman to the outer world; is it not probable that the substance of that very speech had been spoken in the privacy of the upper room? He who had most sinned, who had been most forgiven, and who therefore was most full of love, had, I think, in the prayers[1] and other devotions of that morning taken the lead. He expressed the emotions struggling in all their hearts. The tiny door between man and God which men had not dared to open, was flung wide, and the Spirit of the Living God entered in. Then there was the sound as

[1] See *Acts* i, 14; ii, 42.

of the rushing of a mighty wind. It was the human thrill majestically answering to the divine immanence.

V

Once convinced that the sound of the wind may possibly be interpreted as a result of the reception of the Holy Spirit, we are forced to apply the same test to the other details of St. Luke's narrative. Is it possible to see in our own present-day experience any clue to the appearance of the tongues of fire, this fire sitting upon each of them?

There are two Biblical narratives which seem to be similar. One is the story of Moses as he came down from the Mount. Though Moses was quite unconscious of it, Aaron and all the children of Israel saw the skin of the face of Moses shining as with the glory of fire, and they were afraid to come near him.[1] The other example is of St. Stephen, whose face at the trial held all who were present spellbound, for they "saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." [2] In each instance the glory of the face was the outer manifestation of an inward response to a divine quickening. The important difference in these instances as compared with the experience of the disciples of Pentecost, is that Moses and Stephen were not aware of the glory. In the Pentecostal glory each man saw all the rest bathed with the heavenly fire. It was the gift of the Holy Spirit received, not by individuals, as by the prophets of old, but by the community. There is a very important difference.

But we need not rely upon past records exclusively for an example of the glory of the divine fire in

[1] *Exodus* xxxiv, 29 f. [2] *Acts* vi, 15.

the human face. People who heard Phillips Brooks preach at the Sunday afternoon services of Trinity Church in Boston have often told a similar story. In the gathering darkness the people watched the glowing face of the preacher in the light of the little pulpit lamp. As he became more and more lost in the truth he was striving to present, as he felt the sympathy and understanding of the people, as he seemed to be conscious that he and they were standing before God, then they saw upon his face the ineffable glory which comes from God only, marking the human response to the indwelling spirit. Too many people have noted this "appearance" in the face of the great preacher to allow one to record it as a mere imagination of attentive and sympathetic listeners. There was an objective reality there.[1]

An even more striking confirmation I may be permitted, I trust, to give from the life of one who has more recently passed to his reward. Henry Sylvester Nash was a remarkable teacher of the New Testament. His face was irregular to the utmost plainness. A man who had met him on the street would have been sure to think his face one of the most unusual faces he had ever seen, and if you had told the stranger that this teacher's face could ever seem beautiful, the stranger would have laughed you to scorn. But Dr. Nash's pupils would all bear witness that in the small bare room where he was wont to give his lectures on St. Paul and on the Fourth Gospel they had listened to inspiring interpretations, brought up from his own serene religious life, and had looked up, more than once, to see the uncomely features of the lecturer

[1] For one description of this, see Allen's *Life of Phillips Brooks*, vol. ii, pp. 814 f. First edition.

quite transfigured. His face shone as the face of Moses shone, as the faces of the disciples shone on Pentecost, as the face of Stephen shone when he answered his accusers. The light of the Holy Spirit was on him, the fire from on high, the divine beauty.

From such experience one may go back to the New Testament, and be sure that it was no mere vision that fell upon the minds of the disciples on the Pentecostal morning. It was the objective reality. They knew not how to describe it. Nor do we in our time know. The words St. Luke used are as accurate as any we are likely to find; and our own eyes have taught us how wonderful the glory was.

VI

The most bewildering result of the Pentecostal baptism by the Spirit was the "speaking with other tongues."[1] St. Luke's account in the Acts is not quite clear. Apparently the disciples spoke different languages;[2] yet they were accused of being drunken.[3] Every one would exclaim, Drunkenness has never been associated with ability to speak accurately a variety of languages. Dr. Swete points out[4] that though these Jews or proselytes were from various parts of the civilized world they must all have been able to understand either a dialect of Aramaic or the colloquial Greek which was freely spoken throughout the Mediterranean world. Dr. Swete keenly criticises the Fathers who declare that the gift of speaking foreign languages was the way the Apostles were fitted to be missionaries. "It is," he says, "one of the

[1] *Acts* ii, 4.
[2] *Acts* ii, 8.
[3] *Acts* ii, 13.
[4] *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 73.

clearest signs of a divine preparation of the world for the Gospel that the command to preach it everywhere came at a time when one language gave access to almost every nation in the Roman world. The various peoples to whom the missionaries of the Cross were sent were scarcely more polyglot than the crowds present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, nor is there any evidence that the gift of tongues, so far as it continued in exercise, was actually used for the purpose of preaching to the heathen."[1] In spite of all this, — which cannot fail to make its appeal, — St. Luke implies that the "speaking" was intelligible.

The whole subject must be studied, first, in connection with the survival of the "gift of tongues" in the Apostolic Church, as we learn of it in St. Paul's Epistles. Then modern scholarship is beginning to find that something akin to the "speaking with tongues" has accompanied every profound revival of religion. Last of all, psychology is coming to our aid, and we are seeing some of the underlying principles in such a phenomenon. Remembering these various sources of help, we may examine St. Luke's account from various points of view.

(1) There was, we now know from ancient papyri, a deliberate use of strange words, sometimes taken from different languages, more often invented for the mere sound, and then rolled out with a mystifying intention. The incantation of the witches in *Macbeth* or the nonsense of any child might give us a notion of the effect of such combinations. For an effect they do have, giving one a sensation of ideas, without an understanding. Whether the disciples knew of such use of sounds or not, whether or not they could have

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 73 f.

felt that religion might validly employ such a medium of expression, I am sure that we have something more real in the words of Pentecost. I am not sure that the Corinthians whom St. Paul rebuked were not adopting some such magical and mystifying utterance; indeed St. Paul's criticism almost implies it. But the Corinthians, emerging from heathenism and superstition, were quite different from the people in the upper room, who had been spending weeks and months, perhaps years, with the Lord Jesus. They had been drilled in simplicity and truth.

(2) Now let us think of the inference that the disciples were enabled to speak languages foreign to them. Have we anything in history or experience to make us believe that this might have been so? Dr. Swete's strictures already quoted[1] show plainly that such fleeting ability to speak another language had no practical use in the Early Church. Both theory and history are against such a use. It may nevertheless have been a fact. In the early eighteenth century some French Protestants resisted persecution with ecstasy; and it is reported that people, — sometimes children, — became unconscious in their wild zeal and uttered pleas in classic French though in normal condition able only to speak their shabby provincial dialect.[2] Here the psychologist steps in to tell us that any deep emotion stimulates speech. The usually dumb labourer, when aroused to intense anger, sends forth a flow of Billingsgate which is marvellous. The exhorter who has difficulty in choosing or even finding words in conversation, is amazingly fluent under the excitement of the experience meeting. Psychology

[1] See above, p. 53.

[2] Bruey's *Histoire du Fanaticisme*, vol. i, pp. 148 f.

says that emotion affects the speech centre: sometimes by confused utterance, sometimes by utterance more intelligent than the normal speaker could express. How then would psychology attempt to explain the French peasant's ability to speak classic French? By the hypothesis of the subliminal consciousness. This subliminal consciousness absorbs and retains experience which the waking self either never gets or, getting, loses. These people therefore who spoke good French had it, through their subconscious selves, from their Huguenot Bibles, or perhaps they had, in childhood, served a nobleman and heard him speak constantly, though never able to imitate him in conscious moments. There are rare, but well-confirmed, cases where people have spoken languages which in normal condition they could not speak; but psychology believes that, in childhood, by some means, their subconscious selves have acquired and held them.

It is then quite possible to imagine that the disciples, on Pentecost, did speak foreign languages, and did appear to be beside themselves. Perhaps one as a boy had listened, all astare, to merchants who halted their caravan in his little town, and talked in their strange language, visit after visit, till the boy began to understand them. Perhaps another had, in very early years, spent a period in some far-away place and had learned to speak its language, though the memory of the whole experience had passed from his conscious thought. Such a phenomenon could occur only in exalted moments. It could serve no practical purpose, for, in preaching and teaching, the exaltation could not be sustained. So it might be that in such a transcendent hour as the morning of Pentecost, the disciples, one here, one there, spoke with tongues in

the sense of speaking foreign languages; in which case, the importance of the incident would not have consisted in the language but in the depth of the emotion which would be sufficient to call such a phenomenon of the human mind into play. We may believe that it was the answer of the very depths of humanity to the consciousness of God's Holy Spirit given to be man's Eternal Guest.

(3) There is a still more complete explanation of the Voice of Pentecost. In the greatest moments of life we tend to be elemental. Civilization in its elaboration makes us think that the artificial, the manufactured, is the end we crave. But after each epoch of the elaborate, the wise of the earth flee to the natural and the simple. It is the air, the water, the earth that we love after all. The wayside flower is better than the astonishing product of the skilled gardener. The open sky is better than the roof of St. Peter's. The grass of the field is better than the most gorgeous carpet of the East. In our best state, we grow sick of things; we wonder if, like St. Francis, we cannot give them all up, and be unfettered and free. It is the return not to the wild, but to the elemental.

So I think the language of Pentecost was like the language of the primitive man, — sounds that conveyed a meaning without what we now call language. We have the suggestion of it in the way we communicate with our domestic pets. A dog's bark — if we love the dog — tells us, in its various tones, whole volumes of meaning. We know his joy, and the degree of his joy; we know his pain, his rage, his fear. It is so of all animals as we come to intimate terms with them. Besides this, we have the language of music to guide

us. The major and the minor keys make in all men approximately the same emotions. Then there are various grades of understanding, as we are trained, or as our emotions are alert or dull. It is a symbol of elemental language, surviving in one of the highest forms of art; and because the elemental does survive, therefore the art has its universal appeal. In the records of "speaking with tongues" in modern times, music has had its part.[1] What has seemed jargon to the intelligence has had a sense of rhythm and of song which, though appealing not at all to the intelligence, has often given a weird and exhilarating impression. Sometimes this "impression" has conveyed power. The story is told that in the persecution of the Jews in Galicia a little synagogue was filled with the friends of a refugee seeking sanctuary. Soldiers surrounded the building. The angry Mandator entered and demanded his prisoner; the cowering Jews expected at any moment to be overwhelmed and punished. Then the insignificant leader of the synagogue arose and stood before his people. With glowing eyes he began to sing the Kol-Nidra; at first his voice quavered, then steadily grew in strength and volume till it so inspired and inflamed the listeners that from fear they turned to boldness. The Mandator became pale, and his knees shook. With trembling steps and bowed head, he slowly passed the leader, who had fainted, and left the synagogue, giving his soldiers the sign to follow.[2]

If I may be permitted to speak, from personal experience, I should like to record the memory of a

[1] See George Greville, *Memoirs*, vol. iii, ch. xxii, for a description of "Speaking with Tongues" in Edward Irving's Chapel in 1833.

[2] K. E. Franzos, *Die Juden von Barnow*, pp. 130 ff.

revival meeting to which I went in Cambridge, as an undergraduate. Among those who bore testimony was a negress with intelligent face. She began in even, clear tones, in simple, plain language, to tell how she had been given grace to overcome temptation. As she went on, her voice rose, various notes were played upon, and the intelligent description melted into a confused medley of syllables, which held the whole crowd of people attentive and respectful. Very distinct impressions were given, but no exact ideas.

In an English classic there is the description of the turn in the fortunes of a suspected man. Disgraced, about to be tried, certain of condemnation, he seemed powerless. Then a discovery was made revealing his complete innocence. A friend came to tell the news to the wife of the miserable man. The messenger was to be the husband of her daughter; so that the woman's emotions were stirred not only by the message but by the messenger. The sense of escape, as from hell, took her spirit, at one flash, from the lowest depth to the bluest height. It was a moment when, we should say, all the barriers of earth were down, and heaven flooded the soul. This is the description: "The major sat himself by her side, and put his hand upon hers, and whispered some word to her about her daughter. Upon this she threw her arms around him, and kissed his face, and then his hands, and then looked up into his face through her tears. *She murmured some few words, or attempted to do so. I doubt whether the major understood their meaning, but he knew very well what was in her heart.*"[1] This we can accept as a true account of (1) the effect of certain experiences upon the power of speech, and (2)

[1] A. Trollope, *Last Chronicle of Barset*, vol. iii, p. 284.

the possibility of conveying impressions and ideas through sounds that ordinarily would be called unintelligible. "The major," one may venture to say, received ideas from the incoherent speech which no ordinary language could have equalled. He knew that he was in the presence of a blessed joy; and, however difficult he might have found a description, he knew much of its depth and devotion.

We know that poetry, as well as music, makes its appeal from the elemental to the elemental. And we say that poetry, as well as music, often expresses what no prose or level sounds can express. So religion needs, and must have, its moments of elemental language. Every real form of worship leaves scope for this appeal beyond the capacity of intelligible interpretation, in the place given to music, to poetry, to the mystic sense in general.

But greatest of all the proofs of the place of the elemental in religion is the revelation of Christ Himself. While East and West were trying to define the centre and circumference of religion in descriptive exactness, He told men that God is their Father, and that to please Him they must become as little children, trusting Him, and treating one another as brothers. It was a striking through all the philosophies and legal codes and a coming to the basal elements of life.

Thus, for every reason, it seems safe to say that when the disciples in their highest joy spoke with tongues, they spoke the elemental notes of language, the evident and convincing symbols which all men, responding as with the strains of some mystic music, could feel to be clear to the primitive sense within them. It was language such as St. Francis used when he

preached to the birds and the wolf. It is the language at the bottom of life.

VII

These, then, were the outward manifestations assuring the disciples on the day of Pentecost that they had received a heavenly gift. The exact nature of that gift they and a succeeding humanity were to discover only by experience. It is quite evident from the earliest New Testament writings that, though there was little attempt to fix boundaries of the great truths the disciples were living by their openness of heart, the main conviction was that on Pentecost they had recovered, in a spiritual presence, the Master whom they had known face to face, and whom they had last seen, as in any sense a bodily presence, at what we call the Ascension. The whole Bible is concrete. The theology was to come later; but the experience now was too vivid for introspective reflection. They *felt* that the dear Master was again with them; they *knew* it. St. Paul made it quite clear: "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son. . . . And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." [1] They had been prepared to recognize that there could be a spiritual presence. Their lives had been opened by the love of God Incarnate. Then came the day when they were sure of the Invisible Christ guiding them, guarding them, loving them. Nothing could separate them from Him. They could dare everything, endure everything, venture everything. It was a mountain peak in all human life on which they stood. Is it wonderful that the signs of their joy transcended

[1] *Gal.* iv, 4, 6.

all ordinary levels: is it wonderful that a sound as of a mighty rushing wind from heaven filled all the house, that glory as of fire shone upon them, that they spoke their thanksgiving in a language strange but capable of being understood? For Jesus their Master was come, and they knew Him.

V

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE DAYS OF ST. PAUL

I

THE full test that the Spirit given on Pentecost was the Spirit of Jesus Christ appears in the fact that the disciples could not stay in the upper room after they became sure of their happiness, but immediately rushed forth into the crowds of the feast-day and shared their joy with all who would receive it. One thinks of the glorious moment of Christ's Transfiguration, which was immediately succeeded by His solicitude for the poor boy at the foot of the mountain. It is the essential characteristic of the Incarnate Lord that no benefit can be selfishly enjoyed: it is always shared in the widest effort of love.

It is perilous to generalize, but one may ask if this instinct of a man or a movement possessed by the Spirit of Christ to share the highest spiritual privileges is not uniformly Christian in religious expression. The Oriental enthusiast, in his exalted seasons, demands isolation, with time for meditation. Even Socrates, who was the religious model of the best Western thought, was exclusive in his choice of companions. He had no desire to share his philosophy with the crowds; he was not, we imagine, a good husband or a good father; he devoted himself, day after day, to a few receptive youths, who helped him

by their spontaneity and vivacity as much as he helped them by his clear thinking.

Perhaps it would not be unfair to apply this test to modern movements which contend that they represent Christ more than His organic and historic representatives in the Church. While they are talking of doctrine, or are being criticised for distortions of truth, it might be wise to ask how far they are ready to share the prize which they feel God has given them. If they say that they must be only among such people as are congenial, lest they lose the calm and sympathy which best bear up their state of spiritual-mindedness, then it is safe to be suspicious. As Christ pleased not Himself, but identified His interests with the noise and dust of the distracting world, so those who have Christ's Spirit go forth from their most radiant experiences to share those blessed feelings with the world. It is the reason why the disciples rushed from the inspiration of Pentecost to the unselfish task of giving to others what God had given to them.

II

One of the plainest evidences of the power of the Holy Ghost was the transformation of the Apostles from timidity to boldness. It was the man who could not face a maidservant's taunt without denying his friendship for Christ, — it was he who, a few weeks later, stood forth among the crowds of Jerusalem and preached this same Christ to all the city. And when the Apostles were brought before the officers for disorder and were commanded to hold their peace, Peter and John refused to obey, because they knew that the unseen God had given them a message and a commission. "Whether it be right in the sight of God,"

cried Peter and John, "to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."[1] That was the spirit in which the humble followers of Christ were to face generals and kings, without the least tremour of fear. And the chronicler's explanation of the change is simple. It is all in the words, "Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost."[2] It is one of the miracles of the New Testament, the sort of miracle that was repeated centuries later when a poor German peasant stood before the glory of the State and of the Church and refused to recant the truth which God had shown to him, saying, "*Ich kann nicht anders.*"

Nor was the boldness only physical or moral. It was the same boldness that made Christ say, "Ye have heard of old time, . . . but I say unto you —" For when the Apostles sat in Council at Jerusalem, a few God-filled Jews in the midst of Judaism, they dared to abrogate the Levitical Law about meats; and their sufficient warrant is clear from the words with which they introduced their judgment: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." It is probably impossible for us to understand fully what it meant to these men to set aside a divine law delivered to their nation. They were not acting under any national or high-priestly authority. They had no visible presence, as that of our Lord, to assure them. The authority was unseen, intangible, wholly spiritual. Yet they did not hesitate. They had the boldness of a great genius who knows the one word needed to complete his verse, the one colour to complete his picture. It was the immediate contact with the source of authority. It was the boldness which only God can give.

[1] *Acts* iv, 19. [2] *Acts* iv, 8.

There is one other test that can be given, — willingness to die for the truth. The Apostles had cared very much for their lives when their Master was snared and tried and crucified. A few days later, when the Holy Ghost had taken possession of them, they seem to have cared as little for death as for the daily twilight. And they were steadfast in this courage; till, one by one, with hardly an exception, they had died for the truth's sake. This was a form of spiritual boldness that survived in such a way that men even sought the martyr's crown. Polycarp was one of many who determined to die for Christ. And in every persecution it was the marvel, even of stoical Romans, with what fierce joy delicate women as well as strong men could meet death in the arena. The boldness of the Spirit was a mark of the Early Church.

III

There is one more immediate result of the coming of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost which must be recorded. "Neither," said St. Luke in the Book of the Acts,[1] "was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet: and distribution was made to every man according to his need." It might be possible to explain this as part of the result of an expectation of the quick return of the visible Christ in the Parousia. Certain movements in the nineteenth century, looking forward to the millennium, led to a similar disposal of property just before the day fixed for the Day of the Lord.

[1] iv, 34 f.

But the reason after Pentecost seems to have been an overflowing of love. It has been suggested that just as the early disciples left all to follow the Lord Jesus in the days of His flesh, so these new disciples, the disciples of the Spirit, left all, gave all, to be lost in the fire of His love.

The fact that the custom of dividing one's goods among the community did not continue in the Church may teach us that it was not a practical way of caring for the unfortunate or the shiftless; or it may tell that the love was chilled as the Church grew older. In any case, we know that this apparently spontaneous act of communal life sprang from an enthusiasm which longed to spend and be spent for love of the brethren. It gives us a vivid picture of the love kindled by the Holy Spirit, consciously and gratefully received.

IV

In attempting to trace the history of the first century, it is difficult to tell how far the Book of the Acts, how far St. Paul's Epistles, should be counted the primary basis for a true account of events. Since it is increasingly believed that St. Paul's companion, St. Luke, wrote the Acts, it is steadily becoming more common for critical scholars to find that we have in the Acts a plain history (according to the style of the first century) of the events to which St. Paul alludes or refers in his letters. It is becoming a critical habit to attempt to harmonize the Epistles and the Acts.

In spite of this, scholars feel quite sure that in St. Paul's Epistles they are reading documents which reflect exactly the thought of the Church in the decade

just after the middle of the century. The Synoptic Gospels and the Acts in their present form, being written down somewhat later, may reflect attitudes in the Church which belong from ten to twenty years after St. Paul's Epistles. This is not in any way to pass upon the historic accuracy of the Gospels and the Acts: it is simply to point out what detail seemed most important to writers a little beyond St. Paul's time. The selection of material is of itself significant.

I have related the account from the Acts of the way in which, on Pentecost, the Holy Spirit was received and also the report of three results, — the sharing of the spiritual gift, the boldness of the Apostles, and the sharing of worldly goods in an overflow of love. Certainly St. Paul's Epistles imply such a history, and we may feel that we are depending upon the earliest extant record of the Church. But now I wish to leave the Acts and study one or two details revealed by St. Paul's letters. We shall thus discover the effect of the Holy Spirit upon the Church in the earliest records.

Before doing this, I wish to point out an assured reflection of modern scholarship upon St. Paul's writing. Because his letters have formed the basis for much theological debate it is often assumed that St. Paul was a speculative theologian drawing up a system. It is now evident that St. Paul was something much more than a theologian. He was a consummate religious genius carefully and sympathetically observing a unique religious experience in the lives of his fervent colleagues and disciples, most of all in his own life. It is now seen, by an increasing knowledge of the various contemporary religious movements, how these movements were reflected in St. Paul's

arguments. He was meeting disciples and their difficulties. These disciples may have been imbued with the Mystery religions of the East, with Greek philosophy, or with Pharisaical Judaism. We see, as our fathers did not see, how careful St. Paul was not to deny any truth which might lie within what, to his Christian consciousness, seemed a partial and imperfect revelation. The only aspect which he would not tolerate was a narrow self-complacency which insisted on its own way as the only way. So he resisted the Judaizers who would not admit the Gentiles to Christianity unless they submitted to Jewish rites. Otherwise we find him giving advice with a patient criticism, now to the Jewish legalists, now to the Greek inspirationists. His thinking is magnificent because it reached out in many directions, not through theory, but through life. He held, for instance, to the Jewish teaching of a resurrection of the body, but he grasped the truth of the Greek that the body should be a spiritual body. His thinking is not easy to systematize and hem in; for that reason it is the greater, the more clearly the reflection of life.

V

St. Paul shared with all others in the Early Church the expectation that within the lifetime of that generation Christ would reappear in bodily form. This is evident from the earliest of the extant Epistles, those to the Thessalonians. Yet St. Paul spoke constantly of the Spirit of Christ as present. He felt that Christ lived in him. How can we explain this?

In the first place there was the insistent interpretation of certain of our Lord's words, which were felt

to imply that he would soon inaugurate His Kingdom. The Hebrew Christians, being saturated with the Messianic ideal, dwelt upon this expectation much more than the Gentile Christians. But all felt that Christ would reappear.

Besides this reliance upon our Lord's words, there was the natural longing for sight of the dear face, for the sound of the gentle voice, for the touch of the vanished hand. That the Early Church longed for the visible Master possibly loosened its grasp upon the full presence of the Holy Spirit. St. Paul assured His friends that the Spirit of the Son of God was in their hearts. But one may think of this presence kindling such love that their hearts longed for a complete outward manifestation. The theorist would say that these disciples should have been satisfied with the spiritual reality of Christ. The man of great faith who has lost his noble friend through the gate of death is quite sure that his friend lives, — but he longs to hear the tone of his voice, to see the sparkle of his eye. So the practical every-day Christian understands why the disciples who were filled with the Holy Ghost looked for something which they thought would be even more satisfying.

They were mistaken. The Lord did not come in bodily form. Generation after generation the Christian world has known Christ through the Holy Spirit. And he has not yet come in bodily form.

VI

The First Epistle to the Corinthians is rich in its revelations of St. Paul's experience with the Holy Spirit in the lives of men. Though the sentences

follow one another in the confusion of an informal letter, there is the record of the growth in doctrine over the thought expressed in the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

The first thought upon which St. Paul insists is that the Spirit is holy; and because holy, therefore the Spirit can enter only the body that is clean and prepared. "Your body," he says, "is the temple of the Holy Spirit."[1] It was necessary to emphasize the ethical, because outside of Judaism the ethical and the divine were not always inseparable. Moreover, everywhere in the first century there was the conviction that the world was full of spirits, many of them bad and spiteful. A good deal of the religion of the day, — apparently most of it, — was devoted to the exorcising of the bad spirits, with the prayer to the good spirits to come in and replace them. Some one has said that men suspected that evil spirits lurked in all sorts of places just as in our time we suspect the presence of bacilli; and there was exactly the same care to sterilize their harmful energy.

When St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians he did not need to convince them that God's Spirit was in them; but he did need to make them understand that God's Spirit is always benevolent, good, holy.

We see again how St. Paul's teaching was guided by the practical exigencies of the hour. While he longed to comfort these superstitious Corinthians with the remembrance of the loving nature of the Spirit of God, as revealed in Christ, especially in the death on the Cross, he was obliged to guard against their careless acceptance of the truth. The Spirit of the Most Loving is also the Spirit of the Most Holy.

[1] 1 *Cor.* vi, 19.

VII

Another Corinthian experience to teach St. Paul was the dissension in the Church. There were different parties attached, one to him, one to St. Peter, one to Apollos, and one bearing the name of Christ Himself. Instantly St. Paul felt the scandal of such pulling apart as this, with its bickering and strife. So he instructed the Corinthians in the nature of the corporate spiritual life of the Church. He admitted that there were diversities of gifts in the Church, diversities of administration, a varied scale of honour. But something had happened to each individual in the Church, that made it impossible for him to be separated from his brethren: he had been baptized into one body by one Spirit.[1] The body has many members, but it is one. So the Spiritual Body is Christ; and every one who receives His Spirit is incorporated into Him; so that henceforth schisms and divisions are against nature.

In what sense baptism was identified with the gift of the Holy Spirit is not always quite clear. As St. Paul was keeping close to life, it is safe for us who try to interpret him to keep close to the life of our own experience. The Spirit of the Lord was evidently imparted not only in connection with baptism, but in connection with the "laying on of the Apostles' hands," with the sending forth of missionaries, and with the Lord's Supper. Sometimes the Spirit seems to have been given apart from outward symbols, and baptism followed.[2] No doubt, then as now, there was superstition, suggestion of magic, in the Sacraments; but to one who saw as clearly as St. Paul saw, they were

[1] 1 *Cor.* xii, 13. [2] *Acts* x, 47.

the signs of the opening of a life towards the revelation of Christ's Love. When a man, by obedient submission to an outward act, had signified his will to receive God's gift, he did something in his soul as well as in his body. He opened a secret door which possibly may have been closed all his life, and the Holy Spirit entered to be his perpetual guest. If the door was opened as he listened to some fervent plea, if the Holy Spirit was given without the outward act, then the submission to baptism could not mean the beginning. But no submission to what is conceived to be God's will for us can ever be without its admitting us to a larger baptism of His Spirit. Those to whom baptism meant most understood that the Spirit in them was the same Spirit as had entered all their fellow members in the Church: it was the Spirit of the Christ, and in Him they were one body.

St. Paul makes the relationship of the individual to the community strikingly clear in his chapter on the Resurrection. He points out that each individual shall have his own spiritual body; so far there is individualism. But all shall be raised from the dead together. The triumph is not a triumph of a man here and there; it is the victory of the parts of the body of Christ, swept away in a common death, reunited in everlasting life, into one risen whole. Thus in every experience the Spirit gives us life, and because the Spirit is one, we are one in the Spirit. Again St. Paul teaches us that the voice of the Spirit is the voice of Love.

Most appropriately the last words of these Epistles to the contentious Corinthian Christians is a blessing in which St. Paul prays that the *fellowship* of the Holy

Spirit may be with them all. We are so accustomed to hear this as part of a benediction, and to associate it with the doctrine of the Trinity, that we forget that St. Paul was not attempting any systematizing of theology: he was merely making one final prayer that those who were his followers in Christ might be one in the uniting power of the Holy Spirit.

VIII

The Corinthians were having difficulty with those in the Church who tried to "speak in an unknown tongue." Evidently St. Paul was careful not to quench any enthusiasm, any sincere belief of his converts in such a remarkable gift; but he patiently discouraged the attempt to exercise this gift of the Spirit. We see by his criticism that nothing was understood directly, and, if the speaking with tongues was to be in any degree edifying, it must be accompanied with interpretation. He therefore encouraged prophesying or preaching, rather than the exercise of what seemed only a vague religious excitement.

We may imagine that these Corinthians were attempting to institutionalize what could only come at rare times with very unusual combinations of circumstances. Because the disciples at Pentecost could rise to the dignity of a real spiritual frenzy, with all the dignity that simple reality and necessity can give, because now and then afterwards a similar experience might burst through the ordinary course of Christian life, there was no reason to expect that men could often "speak with tongues." As a matter of history, the attempt to preserve the phenomenon as an institution was so quickly abandoned that John Chrysostom

in his day did not know what the speaking with tongues could have been.

Accordingly St. Paul discouraged the attempt of the Corinthians to gain the power of the Spirit of Christ in this way. And it is of the utmost significance that he prefaced his exhortation on the subject with his matchless ode on Love.[1] "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels," he exclaimed, "and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." St. Paul therefore anticipated the teaching of the First Epistle of St. John, written years later, by making love the essential preparation for the fullest possession of the Spirit. The atmosphere in which the voice of love can be heard is itself love. No miracles, no mysterious ecstasies, are of much importance. The heart that submits to a Sacrament, that opens itself towards God, must also open itself towards men. The more widely a man can love his brethren in the world, the more fully will the Spirit of high heaven penetrate into all the recesses of his life and character. Love is received by love.

IX

In all this development of St. Paul's thought it is hard to see that he was consciously trying to define in any way the exact relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father and to Christ. But in the two closely related Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans there are two passages which demonstrate that experience was leading him towards such a definition. Both are profoundly moving.

The first passage is St. Paul's effort to describe to

[1] 1 *Cor.* xiii.

the Galatians the means by which we have the consciousness that we are God's children. "When the fulness of the time was come," he said,[1] "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Christ, by becoming one with us, adopting as His own our humanity, and being always God's Son, has given us the right to be sons with Him of the one Father. Then when the Holy Spirit was given, Christ's Spirit came into our inmost lives; that is, our hearts; and His voice, the Son's voice, which is also ours by His indwelling, cries out to God, "Father." We are not only treated as sons, but we stand before God with the self-respect of the Only Son and Heir of all things to treat God as our Father.

It is significant that in this passage St. Paul used the address, Ἀββά ὁ πατήρ, the Aramaic and the Greek words joined; so suggesting the brotherhood of Jew and Gentile in the sonship of both to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, through the inspiration of both with the Holy Spirit. All who are willing to receive the Spirit are thereby bound to express not only their filial love for the Father, but their fraternal love for one another.

The second passage pointing to a definition of the relationship of this Spirit to the Father is in the Epistle to the Romans. It is in some ways the most illuminating passage which St. Paul ever wrote. "The Spirit," he said,[2] "helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but

[1] *Gal.* iv, 4 ff. [2] *Rom.* viii, 26 f.

the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." As with all supreme words in life, so with these, it is not safe to attempt to harden the poetic into prose. We stand before an open window and look far off over meadows and valleys to distant hills and the limitless sky. These are among the words which open a window out towards God's yearning love for us. He loves us so much that He desires to be loved by us. He not only speaks to us, He also desires our speech in reply; he even wishes us to speak first that He may reply to us. We feel the instinctive longing to speak, to pray; but we doubt our power, our right. Then into our hearts comes the Holy Spirit, with a tenderness passing the tenderness of the mother to the child kneeling at her knee: the Holy Spirit says the words which we catch up and make our own. As there are songs without words, so there are prayers without words: our vague, dim aspirations the Holy Spirit fills, and though we cannot translate them into intelligible terms, it is because they are beyond words.

In one of St. Paul's later Epistles, there is what we may call an allusion to this thought. "Grieve not the holy Spirit of God," he wrote to the Ephesians.[1] Once more there is the appeal to the love which the Spirit bestows and is. The highest incentive in life is to give joy to love. And the bitterest tragedy is to wound love. St. Paul calls upon the Church to meet love with love.

[1] *Eph.* iv, 30.

X

It is through St. Paul, then, that we have a picture of Christian experience in the middle of the first century. What he reveals to us of the Holy Spirit is not his philosophy or reflection, but his own observation of an experience which he was sharing with men who were dear to him, an experience of ways in which the Holy Spirit spoke to men who had become members of the body of Christ. It was not always through words in which St. Paul directly spoke of the Spirit that he revealed this experience. We have it concretely in his affection for his Philippian followers, the bond of the Spirit making them more than kin, so that the proud independence of the Apostle was willing to receive from them financial help. We have it in the brief letter to Philemon by which he shows that in the sharing of the same Spirit slave and master are brothers. We have it most of all in his optimistic thanksgiving for his Corinthian friends, whose faults he saw plainly, yet whose grace from God redeemed all. It is such general impressions that serve to give us the most rational conception of a man's experience. The mere text, with its direct reference, is often hard and unreal.

If St. Paul weighed at all the questions of later theology about the Spirit, he attempted no philosophy of them. He did not tell whether the Spirit is only from the Father, only from the Son, from the Father through the Son, or from both equally. Nor did he show whether the Spirit is to be counted on as God in action, an impersonal outgoing from the divine, or in some way a personal entity, — in God, of God, God Himself. The theologians of the later Church in their

efforts to reach a conclusion could all find in St. Paul support for their various interpretations of the Holy Spirit. But St. Paul himself, living in the blazing light of a great period of spiritual awakening, was content to give only the indications of what he saw and felt. Doubtless the Gamaliels, — that is, the theologians of his time, — felt that St. Paul's ideas were fragmentary, more or less conflicting one with another, and quite out of harmony with the theology of the past. This would be natural; for St. Paul was attentive to the living voice in men of all sorts, proclaiming a power which was being so openly received as to seem new in the world, — the power, the light, the love of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

VI

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

I

IN the seventh and eighth decades of the first century the Synoptic Gospels were, so far as chronologists can determine, being given to the world. It is certain that the words of our Lord and the facts of His life had been repeated long before this both in oral traditions and in some form of written documents. We may not take the Synoptic Gospels to be a sudden creation of the sixties and the seventies; they were the end of an evolutionary process. Because events are recorded in these Gospels which St. Paul did not record, we have no right to make St. Paul's silence a reason for questioning the facts. St. Paul was writing letters, whether to the Church in general or to particular congregations, which treated only of the subjects about which there had been debate, or upon which practical advice was needed, or upon which he laid especial emphasis in his teaching. We are sure, both by the results of modern criticism, and by our knowledge of human nature, that St. Paul took for granted many facts and principles which he would not have thought it necessary to mention in crowded letters written to people who, in the main or wholly, agreed with his Christian creed.

We find in St. Paul no reference to our Lord's miraculous birth or to His baptism. We may not be sure that there are not in his letters allusions to both. But, even if we granted that there were not even allusions to them, we should have no right to say that it was not entirely possible for St. Paul to have taught both facts to his congregations as he gathered them for their first instructions. It is possible that St. Paul, in his oral instructions, went over the ground of the Gospel story in much the same way as we find it in the record of St. Mark and St. Luke, both of whom he knew. Silence can give us no right to deny.

What we do have the right to say, in examining documents emanating from different decades of a century, is that the silences may tell a true story of the degrees of emphasis with which this or that fact was regarded, as the years passed.

If then we find in the Synoptic Gospels the records of events which St. Paul passed over, and if we find an evident importance attached to them, then we may assume that the force of those events was coming home to people in the sixties and the seventies as they had not appealed to the leaders in the fifties. For our present purpose what we wish to discover is how in this period Christian men were learning the power of the Holy Spirit.

II

The expectation of the return of our Lord in visible form to inaugurate the Messianic Kingdom is intimately associated with the disciples' thought of the Holy Spirit. We may surmise that in the first enthusiasm of Pentecost the spiritual presence of Christ seemed so overwhelmingly satisfying that the disciples

did not crave any physical symbols of the Lord's presence among them. It could not have been long, however, before the natural human desire to see the loved face asserted itself. Words of our Saviour intimating His bodily return were recalled. All this is what we should expect. When we reach St. Paul's Epistles we find that the Christian disciples were all filled with the definite expectation of the Parousia in their lifetime. But they were beginning to be confused by the questions connected with the death of those who died before the Lord's appearing. St. Paul explained to them that there was to be no disadvantage for those who died thus early; they and the survivors should alike be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air upon His glorious return.[1] These comforting words to bereaved friends were written not far from the middle of the century. The very explanation shows that St. Paul felt that normally the individuals of the Christian community would be still living when Christ came.

Ten, twenty, twenty-five years passed. The first generation of Christians was rapidly passing. Forty years, more or less, had gone since Christ vanished. The inevitable question was whether His coming would not be indefinitely postponed. Therefore there is a distinct reason why the oral and written records of the earthly life of Jesus should take a permanent form. The hypothesis that only at this time did the earthly life of Jesus seem important is altogether unnecessary. Another hypothesis is quite sufficient to cover the ground, and dovetails exactly with the facts which are beyond dispute. For besides the fact that the contemporaries of Jesus of Nazareth were almost all dead,

[1] 1 *Thessalonians* iv, 15 ff.

the outstanding fact of this period was the destruction of Jerusalem. This meant a scattering of the disciples and a sense of insecurity for all traditions. The hypothesis that the Synoptic Gospels reached their present form, or approximately their present form, at a time when men had ceased to believe that Christ would immediately return, and, by the exigencies of the moment, for people who could not appeal to the older generations, is natural, reasonable, quite sufficient.

Bearing witness then to the fact that the disciples did not any longer expect Christ necessarily within the lifetime of the first generation, they still expected Him. The words which record His promise to return are recorded in such a way that it is clear that the Synoptic editors or writers interpreted them to mean a bodily return. They were not, I think, wholly satisfied with the presence of Christ through the Holy Spirit. They still longed to see the glorious Messiah; but I believe that there was a subtle difference. As they dwelt upon the precious traditions of His earthly ministry, was there not the desire that they might see, not so much the transfigured and regal Christ, as the plain, sympathetic, pitying, helping Jesus of Galilee? In so far, had the Evangelists not gone beyond the mystical grandeur of St. Paul? There is no doubt that they still looked for the outward glory, but there was, I feel sure, a growing sense of the glory that breathed through the poverty and the seeming failure of the Palestinian career. A readjustment in the conception of the time of the return necessarily modified other details, especially in the manner of the return.

My full reason for dwelling upon this evidence in the Synoptic Gospels of a change in the expectation

of the Parousia, while the expectation itself still continued, will appear later.[1] Meantime it will be enough in this place to note the probable circumstances under which the Synoptic Gospels were composed. There was, with the remembrance of the earthly life of Jesus and the conviction that His Parousia was deferred, a growing dependence upon the highest spiritual presence. In spite of all the tragedy associated with the fall of Jerusalem, these were not dry years. The Spirit was with the disciples to sustain them, giving to them the assurance of stability amid the crash of the temporal.

III

St. Mark's Gospel takes for its starting point the baptism of Jesus Christ, accompanied as it was by the conviction on our Lord's part that the Holy Spirit descended upon Him. The other Synoptic Gospels repeat St. Mark's account; and all alike say that after the baptism the Spirit drove Him into the wilderness. A group of Gnostics in the next century taught that the Holy Spirit took possession of Jesus at His baptism and deserted Him at the crucifixion. This heresy had a short life, but it represents a tendency; it is the overemphasis of a fact which the earliest extant Gospel dignified with a primary importance.

St. Paul had written of the power of Christ's resurrection, whereby the Spirit of the Living Christ was controlling the destinies of men. He was dealing with the results of Christ's life, rather than with its causes. Possibly in his oral teaching, as I said before, he may have dwelt upon our Lord's testimony to the witness which He received at His baptism; but it

[1] See below, pp. 97 ff.

clearly was not much in St. Paul's mind. To St. Paul, Christ was as much a present power as Abraham Lincoln was to John Bright. John Bright felt that the cause which Lincoln was leading was the most significant of the nineteenth century. He believed that Lincoln was a very great man, divinely appointed to a stupendous task. But in the dark days when Bright was watching the contest between brothers in the young republic, I cannot find that Bright was examining the sources of Lincoln's power. He was not analyzing the books Lincoln read as a youth, or his early career as an Illinois lawyer. The power of his present was too evident to need any explanation from the past. So St. Paul, I think, found the Christ, who was his life, too immediate to need any groping among origins.

It is when the time comes for history that men dwell upon the facts that explain, or tend to explain, a career. So St. Mark, beginning his Gospel abruptly with the public life of Christ, shows that He by whose life the Spirit was given to men, was Himself baptized with the Spirit. It was a seal of the divine authority with which He was to act and to speak.

The Ebionites believed that this baptism of the Spirit endowed our Lord with His Messiahship. This was straightway designated a heresy. As speculation about our Lord's life increased it is clear that the historian would be forced to go still farther into the study of origins.

IV

Thus we come to the accounts of our Lord's birth, as recorded in St. Luke and St. Matthew. We cannot be sure just how much later these gospels are than St. Mark, probably only a few years; but there is a

difference in the emphasis. St. Mark was content to begin with the public ministry. The other Synoptists had found the need, by questions which were doubtless being put, to go back to childhood and birth and ancestry.

This is a perfectly natural evolution. I have mentioned Abraham Lincoln. When men began to investigate his greatness, they were content with an account of his education and early experience as a rough pioneer, a diligent reader of a few books, a shrewd lawyer. But later there was the painstaking effort to trace his ancestry through the rough backwoodsmen to colonial stock and thence to England. One who had felt the power of Lincoln's personality, even one who had read his Gettysburg Address or his second Inaugural Speech, needed no such explanation. But the quest helped some people to comprehend the man; and in any event it was a quest that was inevitable. In a way not less natural it was certain that those who recorded our Saviour's life would soon be obliged to chronicle whatever they could discover of His birth and ancestry. The additions therefore to the accounts of St. Mark were not artificial, or forced: they were inevitable.

The whole problem has been distorted of late years by focussing the attention upon the unique nature of our Lord's birth, in that He was virgin-born. Whether the Evangelists acquired their material for the account from older records, or, according to the tradition, St. Matthew from Joseph, and St. Luke from the Virgin herself, we know that the narrative is evidently struggling with a problem too difficult for human speech. The Man unique in character and power was discovered by these Evangelists to be unique by nature, so far as

they could gather the reports of His origin. But the important detail on which to fix is not what some critics have called the unnaturalness of the event, the exceptional aspect of its physical nature, but the confidence that the Holy Spirit of God had to do with the very inception of Christ's life. He who bestowed the Spirit, — His Spirit, God's Spirit, — upon those who were receptive, was endowed with the authority not merely at His baptism but at the beginning. He was the Son of God, born into the world by the influence and power of the Spirit. He was not an individual man whom the Spirit of God used for a tabernacle during a unique ministry to men. From the start the Spirit of God was the means by which Jesus Christ had authority to give the Spirit to men; still more, through the Spirit to give Himself to men for time and eternity.

One must be constantly on guard not to introduce into the first century the theology of succeeding centuries. The Synoptic Evangelists were not writing theology, though they were putting down words and events from which theology was to be evolved. They were not, we must believe, producing a theory of Christ's life, but they were chronicling such words and events as they could discover in records or living memories, and out of these making a selection when necessary of those words and events which best explained the questions of the time in which they wrote. In the accounts of the Birth of Christ we have, first of all, the indication that they had found the authority for Christ's authority. As the Spirit had moved upon the face of the waters in the first creation, so in this new creation the Spirit was the power which brought God and man together in Jesus Christ. St. Paul,

by his rich experience in his own soul and among men, had disclosed in his Epistles much about the life and work of the Holy Spirit. But the Evangelists touched a note of authority which not even St. Paul made clear.

V

The Synoptic Gospels record only a few sayings of our Saviour about the Holy Spirit. These have to do with the assertion of authority. It was distinctive of Christ that He did not look to any beyond Himself for authority. Thereby we know that we cannot class Him with the prophets: they always looked forward to a deliverer who should come. He spoke of the Old Testament Law and then carried it up into a new commandment with no other vindication than the majestic "But I say unto you."[1] In Him the anticipations of the prophets reached their goal. His authority was in Himself. Yet there are these few passages in which He traces His authority to the Holy Spirit. At Nazareth[2] he quoted Isaiah, taking as His own the words,

> "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
> Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor."

So too when scribes were sent down from Jerusalem to investigate His rapid fame, and when these scribes flippantly explained that though He certainly did cast out devils, He cast them out by the prince of the demons, then our Lord uttered this condemnation, — "All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but whosoever shall blaspheme against

[1] *St. Matthew* v, 21 ff. [2] *St. Luke* iv, 16 ff.

the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin."[1] It is sufficient here to notice that Christ identified His power with the power of the Spirit of God. In the expansion of the passage in St. Matthew[2] Christ explains that blasphemy against the Son of Man shall be forgiven, but not blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Must this not mean, — in connection with the context and the briefer account of St. Mark, — that one who recognizes Jesus to be the Anointed of God, identified with God's Spirit, cannot treat Him as a wicked demon without eternally injuring his own soul, not by some arbitrary outside judgment, but by an instantaneous and inevitable internal reaction. A faint picture of our Lord's meaning might be found in a patriot who felt that his country was symbolized in the king, yet who, meeting the king *incognito*, treated him with scant respect. That patriot would regret his act, but he would not accuse himself endlessly: he did not know what he did. The man who deliberately insults his country, whatever the symbol of it may be, is a traitor; and when love for country returns to him, he never can forget his sin nor forgive himself. So one who recognizes our Lord as the embodiment of the Holy Spirit cannot, upon coming to himself, escape endless remorse.[3]

There are other passages in the Synoptic Gospels

[1] *St. Mark* iii 28 ff.

[2] xii, 31 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Origen, *Commentary on St. John*, bk. ii, ch. vi: "Is it because the Holy Spirit is of more value than Christ that the sin against Him cannot be forgiven? May it not be that all rational beings have part in Christ, and that forgiveness is extended to them when they repent of their sins, while only those have part in the Holy Spirit who have been found worthy of it, and that there cannot well be any forgiveness for those who fall away to evil in spite of such great and powerful coöperation, and who defeat the counsels of the Spirit who is in them."

where the Holy Spirit is spoken of as a possible gift to all. "If ye, being evil," said our Lord one day, in showing how the Father answers prayer, "know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?"[1] Again, on the Tuesday of the last week when our Lord was preparing His disciples for the trials that were before them, St. Mark records that Christ urged them not to be anxious how they should defend themselves, for the Holy Ghost would speak for them and in them and through them.[2] It is impressive that St. Luke, who certainly bases his account on St. Mark, does not mention the Holy Spirit, but makes our Lord say, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or gainsay;"[3] thus identifying Christ with the Holy Spirit.

There is serious discussion whether the formula for baptism ("into the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit") is really a part of the original text of St. Matthew.[4] Even if it is admitted, as some very candid critical scholars think it must be, it is most difficult to tell what it meant to the people living in the time of the Synoptic Gospels. As we look back upon the Gospel Story, the formula is a satisfying summary of the teaching of Christ about the Father, Himself, and the Holy Spirit. The disciples we know, by their own testimony, came gradually to a sense of our Lord's meanings, and it is wrong, historically, to read into great phrases and sentences for an early time all that later experience revealed to be harboured within them.

[1] *St. Luke* xi, 13.
[2] *St. Mark* xiii, 11.
[3] *St. Luke* xxi, 15.
[4] *St. Matthew* xxviii, 19.

There is one other Synoptic sentence which brings us close to the Fourth Gospel. St. Luke, in recording the last scene before the Ascension, records that our Lord said, "Behold I send forth the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high."[1] This must be taken in connection with the same author's words in the first chapter of the Acts: "Ye shall receive power," Christ is recorded here as saying, "after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you."[2] The authority with which God had endowed Him, He was to bestow upon His disciples. That great gift must have seemed to the Synoptic writers sometimes to be Himself, sometimes to be distinct. But the Gift was never separated from Him. It was associated with all His earthly life. It was His source of authority at His birth, at His baptism, in His preaching, in His teaching; and what was His to receive was His to give. He bestowed it with authority. It was His by an inward nature, an inherent right.

Theology in the Synoptic Gospels can hardly be said to exist. They, like St. Paul's Epistles, are absorbed in the relation of a transcendent experience. But there is new material for theology to reflect upon when it does come. The power of the Holy Spirit which St. Paul felt to be issuing from Christ, the Evangelists of the immediately succeeding decades felt to be the authority of Christ. There was the mystery of a wonderful relationship unfolding before the primitive Church.

[1] *St. Luke* xxiv, 49. [2] *Acts* i, 8.

VII

THE WITNESS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

I

THE Fourth Gospel is beset with difficult problems. Scholars are debating earnestly its authorship, the date of its writing, its purpose. The wisest scholars speak cautiously; for, on the one hand, they see the marked differences in the ways the Synoptists and the author of this book present the life of Christ; on the other hand, they are aware how the Personality revealed in the book grips them with a convincing reality. However this Personality may be overlaid with the author's interpretations, the Personality is too vivid to be a creation of the author in any degree. The book is a noble portrait, not a photograph, not an imaginary sketch. Literalism is not bound up with truth. The free lines which give an impression are justified if the impression corresponds with the truth. Only the great poet, the great painter, the great biographer can dare to use freedom of interpretation as they work among what men call facts. To compare the Christ of the Fourth Gospel with the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels is a delicate task for both the conservative and the radical scholar. Imagination, perspective, and patience are needed on both sides. Thus far we may well fear the verdict of the scholar who thinks that he completely understands the problems of the Fourth Gospel.

Some things, however, are becoming clear in the discussion. One point is the date of the book. I suppose that hardly any scholar would now hesitate to fix the date of the Fourth Gospel in the years on either side of the turn of the first century into the second. The tendency has been to give it a somewhat earlier date than this. Whoever the author may have been, whatever the fidelity of his composition, his book tells us the attitude of at least one man, about seventy years after our Saviour's ministry, towards the questions that immediately concern this study. We have a wide view of a tendency in the Church; and without attempting to decide hard problems of authorship we may pursue our task.

Another detail in the discussion of the Fourth Gospel is becoming clearer. The purpose of the author has been one of the main elements in dispute. It was thought at one time that the writer was trying to combat the Gnostic heresy, as a development of Christianity. It is now thoroughly proved that Gnostic ideas preceded rather than followed Christianity, so that the date of the book can have nothing to do with such a heresy in the Church. Moreover, the Christian Gnostics used the Fourth Gospel in their defence.[1] So, from all sides, that hypothesis has broken down. A very common explanation of the author's purpose has been that he was transforming the human Messiah of the Synoptic Gospels into the Son of God. Thus the lesser miracles of the Synoptic records are omitted, and seven astonishing miracles are selected, showing the amazing power of Christ. Parables, as a medium of teaching, are

[1] See Hippolytus, *phil.* v, 9; Heracleon, in *Texts and Studies*, ed. Brooke, i, 4.

hardly used; and the discourses of Christ are direct expositions of His own nature. We do feel the divinity of our Lord in the Fourth Gospel; but the Early Church, quite as the ordinary Christian today, finds the Synoptic Christ divine. If the Early Church, loyal to the Son of God, had felt a lack in the Synoptic Gospels, it would have made greater use of the Fourth Gospel. As a matter of fact the favourite Gospel was what we call the first, because in St. Matthew there was the fitting of prophecy to fulfilment; the Fourth Gospel apparently was little quoted for many years after it was given to the world.

II

What, then, was the purpose of the Fourth Gospel? We see the beginnings of an answer in the date which the author assigns to the Passover in the week of the Crucifixion. The Synoptic Gospels make it clear that our Saviour ate the Passover with His disciples on the fourteenth of the Jewish month Nisan, the Crucifixion therefore being on the fifteenth. The author of the Fourth Gospel makes it equally clear that the meal of Thursday night was not the Passover, for on Good Friday, he says, the Jews "went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover";[1] that is, our Lord died on the fourteenth of Nisan. There seems no doubt that this is intended to be a correction. Perhaps the word *correction* is too strong a word. If it is such, and if the author was an eye-witness overlooking the chronicles of those who wrote from others' documents and from oral traditions, and not from

[1] *St. John* xviii, 28.

immediate knowledge, then his general confirmation of their story is the highest possible testimony to the trustworthiness of their accounts. It is evident none of the Evangelists held chronology to be important, however we may interpret the prologue to St. Luke's Gospel. Perhaps it would therefore be better to say that the author of the Fourth Gospel was not so much making a correction, as filling in a detail, which was not clear in the earlier narratives.

Are there other such additional details to bear out this theory of a more intimate knowledge? There are. According to the First and Second Gospels our Saviour began His public ministry after John Baptist's imprisonment;[1] according to the Fourth Gospel He began His work while John Baptist was distinctly affirmed to be still free.[2] This seems to be an intentional emendation. Further, the Synoptic Gospels indicate that the public ministry of Christ was confined almost wholly to Galilee; the Fourth Gospel accounts for four times when Christ was in Jerusalem between His baptism and His passion. And the lament over Jerusalem recorded in St. Matthew[3] and St. Luke[4] indicates that the addition of the Fourth Evangelist is justified.

There are other divergencies where it seems likely that the Synoptic Gospels give a more just impression; as, for example, the gradual recognition of the Messiah in Christ culminating in St. Peter's confession at Cæsarea, rather than the immediate understanding from the introduction of John Baptist. But even such a variation might be harmonized. It was one thing to speak of the Messiah in the abstract, and then come

[1] *St. Matthew* iv, 12; *St. Mark* i, 14.
[2] *St. John* iii, 24.
[3] xxiii, 37.
[4] xiii, 24.

to the idea afresh after a period of personal experience with Jesus of Nazareth, finding the old conception so overfilled as to be quite forgotten.

If we take the clue that the author of the Fourth Gospel was writing in the spirit of clarifying what he though might be misunderstood in the Synoptic Gospels, — leaving on one side all wish to determine whether he were right or not, —we must ask if we may find a commanding idea of the Synoptic period which the author of this Gospel lays aside. We shall find in the answer to that question the only valid explanation of his purpose in writing. His purpose could not have been to upbraid the Synoptists for not dwelling on our Lord's divinity nor to charge them with not believing in His miraculous power. The Church needed no urging on either of these subjects. But there is one unmistakable difference in the Fourth Gospel as contrasted with both the Synoptists and St. Paul. They are fused with the expectation of our Saviour's bodily return. The Fourth Gospel has not a word of it. That is a noteworthy fact. One imagines that it was almost revolutionary, and may perhaps explain why this Gospel was for so long a time neglected in the Primitive Church, in spite of its strong appeal. We may believe that the early Christian teaching was so saturated with the Messianic expectation of our Lord's second coming in the flesh, that any document which ignored it could not easily find admission to the interest of Christians.

Nor is the purpose only one of omission. The author, in the Prologue, touched upon the fact that our Lord is the Word, but there is little of the Greek speculation in the book. The main part of the book is taken up with the Holy Spirit. And it is clear that

our Lord is made to identify His Parousia with the coming of the Holy Spirit. I shall presently look into some of the details of this identification. For the moment I ask only that the Gospel be thought of as written with this end in view, presenting the discourses of our Saviour the night before His crucifixion, not with the conception of bodily return as the Synoptists imply, but with the conception of a spiritual return through the Holy Spirit "in a little while."

If we assume such an hypothesis, we may pause to ask how it might fit in with the assumption of the traditional authorship. I believe every year more strongly in the traditional authorship, but I do not mean this digression to make a necessary link in my argument. Whoever the author may have been, the document reveals a genius contending that the Parousia has come, not in a carnal, but a spiritual and most real way. It will, however, be useful to imagine how St. John, a young and enthusiastic disciple of Jesus, could have written this book in (let us say) his ninetieth year. Remember him as one who, according to the Synoptic account,[1] had begged the Master for a seat immediately next him in the Messianic Kingdom. Imagine that through most of the years since then he had, with his loving heart, looked forward to seeing the physical presence of the loved Saviour. The Saviour had promised to return during the lifetime of his friends. Those who had seen Jesus were all gone now but himself. He had heard Jesus say that He would return quickly. He could not be mistaken. His Master could not have spoken so, without keeping His promise. Then imagine a bright morning when it flashed into the

[1] *St. Mark* x, 37.

mind of the aged man that his Master had returned. The Gospel must be rewritten. The blessed Spirit who had comforted them all the years since Pentecost had revealed the living Christ. Christ had returned. Then back went the old man's memory over the counsels of Jesus to His disciples. Must we not imagine that the new point of view, the new reason for remembering, brought to his conscious memory facts and words that had for sixty years slumbered in his subconscious memory? As I write these words I have just been reading Mr. Henry James's effort to recall his own childhood and the childhood of his great brother William James.[1] Mr. James is constantly bewildered with the flood of detailed remembrance that swept over his mind after sixty years of apparently forgotten experience. It was the death of his brother, the demand for biographical material, that opened the gates; and the flood of the past poured in. Here then is a human document, immediately out of our own time, to make us see how St. John might write with a fulness, a vividness, and occasionally an accuracy that the earlier Evangelists could not command. A further help comes from this modern instance, in that Mr. James gains his vivid effect of sixty years ago and more, not so much by the facts and exact words of the past, as by the impressions and inner spirit of his childhood. It is something more than words and deeds which he seems to see in the inrush into an opened memory. Such is the power of an insistent demand upon the memory to arouse it to unwonted clearness and profusion. Such a demand in his old age had St. John, the last survivor of the friends of Jesus, to vindicate the promise of his Lord.

[1] *A Small Boy and Others*, 1913.

As I have intimated, even should it be proved that St. John or other eye-witnesses did not write the Fourth Gospel, the fact would still remain that *someone*, towards the end of the first century, wrote the book. And though it may always be difficult to explain much of the difference between this document and the Synoptic records, it will always be easier to believe that its author was an interpreter of actual words and deeds than to credit him with the genius of inventing them. For our Lord's personality had already enslaved the haughty and great St. Paul. The simplicity of the Synoptic Parables is filled with the transcendent power of the Christ of whom St. Paul taught. And to no less a personality than Christ may the greatness revealed in the Fourth Gospel be attributed. The author, — disciple or not, eye-witness or not, — clearly put his interpretation upon discourses and events. But that is all. There is in the book a solid foundation of fact and truth, deep laid in the life of Christ Himself.

III

The first note which the author struck was that the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth was glorious: "We beheld his glory,"[1] he said. It is quite futile to confine these words to a reference to the Transfiguration. The whole Gospel is a reflection of them. If the miracles of Jesus are made to seem grander than the miracles of the Synoptic Gospels, it is to show what a powerful reign it was when Jesus was a visible King among men. We may ask whether in the middle of the century the miracles had not seemed

[1] *St. John* i, 14.

insignificant compared with the Oriental splendour which the followers of Christ expected in the kingdom to be inaugurated at the Second Advent. The very best that a visible Messiah could do, Jesus of Nazareth did. Yet with the reality which old age brings (if we may for a moment assume the traditional authorship) there was no attempt to deck our Lord in any outward display. The miracles selected are magnified: Jesus gave sight not only to the blind, but to one born blind; He raised not only the dead, but one dead four days. Insuperable difficulties may still remain in any attempt to explain, for example, why the Synoptists failed to record so notable a miracle as the raising of Lazarus. But however we account for the more elaborate miracles of the Fourth Gospel, of one thing we may be sure: the author wished to impress upon his readers what a glorious life was the life of Jesus on earth.

This Gospel has sometimes been called the Gospel of the present tense. The best that could happen was then happening. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends,"[1] — and His friends saw Christ laying His life down for them. "He that hath seen me," He said to Philip, "hath seen the Father."[2] What glory could exceed those two revelations?

Most wonderful of all in the Fourth Gospel are the words of our Saviour there recorded. Whether they are literally His or not, they have the ring of the highest. If a man would test them let him quote words from many sources to varied assemblies of men who have in them any reverence for the things of God. I think that without fail the speaker who is

[1] *St. John* xv, 13. [2] *St. John* xiv, 9.

alert will recognize that words attributed to Christ in the Gospel of St. John meet a hushed attention granted to no other words, even Christ's, from any other source. "I am the vine, ye are the branches" . . .; "I am the Good Shepherd" . . .; "Let not your heart be troubled." It is, I am more and more convinced, a sense of authority that sweeps over a group of people when these passages are read, which is quite unique in literature. How far the words are Christ's exactly, how far interpretation, no one knows; but every one may know that the author who strove to make our Lord's earthly career one of supreme majesty and glory succeeded in his task. They are mere words, you may say; but every reader feels that the grandeur of the portrait is in the words rather than the deeds. One may question the deeds; but the words no man may question. There they are. They are either Christ's, or the author's, or Christ's fused with the author's selective interpretation. No Messianic King could utter more weighty, more appealing syllables. Whether we have one theory about them or another, of one thing there can be no least doubt: the author of the Fourth Gospel meant the words, as well as the deeds, of the earthly Christ to be as sublime as human thought could conceive. One seems to hear the refrain at the end of every paragraph, "We beheld his glory."

IV

It has been often said that the Fourth Gospel is preëminently the *spiritual* Gospel. I have already spoken of the way in which the author points out our Lord's Parousia through the Pentecostal gift of the Holy Spirit. The whole Gospel is a preparation for

this outcome. The early part of the Gospel is illumined by the two deeply spiritual conversations to Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman. The central note of the discourse to Nicodemus is that unless a man is born from above he cannot see the kingdom of God.[1] Our Lord explained to the dazed Nicodemus that by this he meant a spiritual birth. The central note of the discourse to the Samaritan woman is the assurance that worship is a spiritual exercise and is not limited to sacred sites: "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth."[2] In the discourse on the giving of His flesh and blood to be nourishment towards the eternal life of those who partake, He insisted, to the scandalized hearers, that it is the Spirit that gives life.[3] The food, being spiritual, must be spiritually received. He was thereby proclaiming that in His essential nature He is a Spirit.

The discourse at the Feast of Tabernacles comes still nearer to the announcement of the Great Return. In this He said, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." Then the Evangelist adds, "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified."[4] The author of the Gospel sees in these words a warning of what he had found in his experience: namely, that the power of Christ came to men in abundance after His spiritualization. As long as men depended on His physical presence, He was external to them. When they came to depend upon His spiritual presence, He was in them and they in Him.

[1] *St. John* iii, 3.
[2] *St. John* iv, 24.
[3] *St. John* iv, 63.
[4] *St. John* vii, 39.

V

So we come to the discourses of the last night before the Crucifixion. There is hope shining through the dismay. "I will not leave you orphans: I am coming unto you:"[1] This assurance, in various forms, was repeated again and again. One of the forms is, "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I go, I will send him unto you." Later theology explained that Christ was to return through the Holy Spirit; but in these farewell discourses we have three implications: Christ would return; the Holy Spirit would come through His departure; the Holy Spirit and Christ were some way identified, some way distinct. The Holy Spirit was to reveal Christ's teaching and continue it. Through Him men in the dispensation of the Spirit were to do greater works than they had seen in Christ's earthly ministry. The Spirit would glorify Christ, by making men see Him in His real glory, the glory of the intensely spiritual life. "A little while," said Jesus,[2] "and ye shall not behold me; and again, a little while, and ye shall see me." They had only beheld Him then in the earthly ministry; they had not truly seen Him. The superficial glance was, through the Spirit, to be exchanged for the profound spiritual vision. This is the way that the disciple writing at the close of the century interpreted the Synoptic saying that Christ should come on the clouds of heaven. This was His return to reign. This was the coming of the Kingdom for which He had taught His disciples to pray.

The discourse recorded after the Resurrection con-

[1] *St. John* xiv, 18. [2] *St. John* xvi, 16.

tinues this same high theme. "Peace be unto you," He said; "as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."[1] Here we have the authoritative commission, of which the discourses before the Passion had given the promise, and of which the life of the disciples after Pentecost was to be the fulfilment. Once more He seems separate from the Holy Spirit, yet strangely identified with the Holy Spirit. He had begun to return. He was only fully and most gloriously to return when all that was earthly had vanished, even the resurrection body, and they were to know Him in their hearts, invisible, yet radiant with power.

VI

So we come face to face with the most exalted word about the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, and perhaps for all time. There seems to have been in the first enthusiasm of Pentecost a consciousness that Christ was again present, though unseen. Then men groped in His sayings and in their own earthly ideals for the promise of something more tangible: they dreamed of a kingdom that would make the stateliness of Rome seem tinsel in comparison. Every one who was a Christian disciple, from St. Paul to the most illiterate, expected an Oriental monarch. But the people who had known Christ after the flesh were almost gone. What of His promise that He would return while His disciples still lived? That promise

[1] *St. John* xx, 21 ff.

He did give; and scholars have practically with one consent, given up all effort to explain it away. Was He mistaken? Are the words an impossible riddle? "No," says the writer of the Fourth Gospel, "now I see! He did promise, and He did come. He is with the Spirit He sent to us. *We beheld His glory* in the days of His flesh, — we know that He was even then the summit of all majesty in word and deed. But we only beheld His glory; we did not truly see it. Now that we have Him in the Spirit; now that we depend on no earthly sign or symbol, but look for the inmost stirring of His life within our lives, — now we *see* Him." Whoever the author of this Gospel may have been, he stands for a consummate revelation of the history of the Holy Spirit in the consciousness of men. It is not right to deduce too much theology. It is not right to measure the sort of history the book contains. The one fact to grasp tightly is that we have the record of an overwhelming experience. A man who had Christ in him was sure that the best that could be had been given. The Messianic Kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and the Holy Spirit had revealed the eternal glory of the Unseen King reigning in the heart of humanity.

VII

Now we must inevitably ask whether this coming through the Holy Spirit satisfies all the words of Christ about His second coming to judge the world. Does it justify the words which Christians have been saying for centuries in the creed? A good many people would feel that, inspiring as the thought is, it is incomplete.

In considering an answer to this question we should remember that the Evangelists as well as all other early Christians repeated words of our Lord which they did not thoroughly understand. The fact that the Gospel records cannot be altogether harmonized is a tribute to the effort of the writers to put down the words of Christ as they believed them, whether or not they could make other records of undoubted veracity dovetail with them. As, in the days of our Saviour's earthly life, the disciples treasured dark sayings in their hearts and found them clarified by later events, so the disciples of these disciples must have treasured sayings which were obscure to them in the expectation that Christian experience would give them meaning. The surprises of the first century freed men from narrow views: men were not surprised to receive more than they dared to hope, much more than they could intelligently conceive.

One other preliminary consideration confronts us. In speaking of His future coming Christ said distinctly that He did not know the day: only His Father knew. This suggests two thoughts: first, our Lord's knowledge was confessedly limited; and secondly, He knew the places where it was limited. Inferior character mingles with what it knows to be facts many assertions which are only guesses or assumptions. As character advances towards perfection it discriminates between what it knows to be true and what it thinks might be true or ought to be true. Looking upon our Saviour only as a perfect human character we should be obliged to believe that He scrupulously defined the boundary between the things He knew and the things He did not know. This is implied in His confession that He knew not the day nor the hour

of His coming, — an implication which many who see clearly the confession of limited knowledge are prone to overlook. Very clever people often, in the exaltation of narrative, say more than they know; only very great people stop short when they have reached the limits of their knowledge.[1] The Man greatest of all must have had this human discernment of the boundaries of knowledge in its supreme form.

Now we have the point of view from which to examine the apocalyptic utterances of the Gospels from which the article in the Creeds is taken. They have for their setting the apocalyptic beliefs current in our Lord's day. As He was obliged to use the Messianic idea, inadequate as it was, to explain His own mission, so He was obliged to use the apocalyptic language with which much of that idea was clothed. It was the language which expressed the deepest aspiration of the time. Of course the Evangelists were steeped in it. But it is unnecessary to think that they imported it into the body of Christ's sayings. There is no reason to doubt that He freely used the language, not because it is the clearest for all time, but because it was the clearest for devout Jews in the first century. In judging what the words mean we may notice subsequent history. But we may still assume that, in view of the thousands upon thousands of years during which Christianity may flourish

[1] William James was once demonstrating to a class a certain psychological problem. With the help of a diagram, which he drew with chalk, he was holding the men spell-bound by the amazing clearness of his explanation. The end was near: only a word or two more seemed necessary. Then he stopped, and sat down. "That," he said, "is as far as I can see." An ordinary teacher would have closed his demonstration with a few vague sentences, perhaps deceiving himself, and in any case allowing the class to suppose that he understood though they did not understand.

on this earth, we are living in what will seem to the future the primitive Church. These words of Christ about the future may be only partially tested, therefore, by the history that is now past. The necessary consequences of what He saw in humanity, and the necessary consequences of what His inner power and love were to mean for humanity, must to His knowledge have extended far into what for other men would be the mists of the future. So we must examine the words and subsequent events with the modest assumption that our time is too primitive to tell more than the beginning of the fulfilment.

Returning then to the apocalyptic passages of the Gospels, we find our Lord using words current in His time to warn and encourage His disciples concerning the days to come. If there were limits to His own knowledge, we may be sure that even with the help of His explanations they could not see what He saw. The words would naturally be confused in their minds, and the records bear witness to that confusion; but equally do they bear witness to the painstaking effort of the disciples to tell just what they heard Him say. The task of weighing the words is not easy, but it is possible to attain an interpretation which cannot be far from what our Lord meant the words to convey.

There is every reason to believe that He used apocalyptic language to describe the fall of Jerusalem, which was to His insight inevitable, and that very soon. And there is no reason now to hesitate to say that He announced that He would quickly come in power and glory: this was fulfilled in the coming of the Holy Spirit. The fall of Jerusalem and the coming of the Holy Spirit were not separated events, but part of an inconceivably great event. We never can adequately

gauge what the fall of Jerusalem meant to a Jew. The shattering of the whole earthly frame could not have been to him more dreadful. It was as the end of the world. Every hope was gone. There might be a new earth; the old earth never could be again. As the Babylonian Captivity was a God-given opportunity to find the God of the depths, to learn to lean on the support of the unseen and the eternal, so the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. was the God-given opportunity to rely on the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to be filled with the Holy Spirit, to allow the Holy Spirit to lead the disciples to the conquest of the world. Before this there was the orientation towards the earthly Jerusalem. Now the Jerusalem in the clouds of heaven beckoned them. Filled with the Holy Ghost they saw it shining above the wilderness of Britain, above the corruption of Corinth, above the worldliness of Rome. The Holy Spirit, always eager to comfort them, found them bereft of their dear home, Jerusalem. In their utter misery and desolation, they flung wide the doors of their hearts, and the Holy Ghost came in anew to be to them what Jerusalem could never be.

Is this then all? It certainly is not all. The early Church longed for the vision of the Face of Jesus: and for this vision the saints still long. They know the comfort of the Holy Spirit; they know that through the Spirit the Lord Christ is with them. But they desire the privilege which was shared by Mary and Peter and Martha and John: they would hear His voice, they would look into the love of His eyes, they would feel His hand on their bowed heads. Even if we think this less than the invisible presence, we know that the wish for it is part of a rational hope. And it is certainly part of our Saviour's promise. However

we may translate the apocalyptic utterance, we discern in it this assurance of a recognizable presence. Exactly where we shall thus meet Him is not defined. It is a renovated life rather than a renovated earth that looms before us in the vision. It seems quite immaterial where it is to be lived. "Upon the clouds of heaven," is the phrase which our Saviour used, and it is a phrase which opens the imagination. As we learn the infinite reaches of the space about us filled with worlds, we dare not confine all the scenes of life to our small planet. It is a coming to us, not to our earth, which is promised. He shall judge things, but He judges souls first of all.

For most people it is a heavenly, rather than an earthly, dream which enthrals them. The Advent hymns cling to the narrower interpretation of apocalyptic pictures, but the most popular hymns see the fulfilment in a somewhat different way. For instance, a well-known children's hymn, popular in spite of its lack of poetry, bears witness:

"I wish that His hands had been placed on my head,
That His arm had been thrown around me,
And that I might have seen His kind look when He said,
'Let the little ones come unto Me.'

"Yet still to His footstool in prayer I may go,
And ask for a share in His love;
And if I thus earnestly seek Him below,
I shall see Him and hear Him above,

"In that beautiful place He has gone to prepare
For all who are washed and forgiven;
And many dear children shall be with Him there,
For 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

Nor it is only the emotional Christian who has identified the Second Coming with the departing of the

individual Christian, through the gate of death, "to be with the Lord." One could hardly expect to find a more dogmatic Christian than Calvin, so that his testimony is impressive. When Calvin knew that death was near, he persisted in continual work. Urged to rest, he explained, "Would you that the Lord should find me idle when He comes?" Even for Calvin, the coming of the Lord was timed for Calvin's own death.

The highest and the essential conception hid within the apocalyptic words of our Lord is the firm announcement that God's cause is ultimately to triumph. The whole universe is His, and He shall bring it all to His goal. The coming of Christ again is essential to the attainment of this goal: for He is not only the love of the Father; He is also the victory of mankind. He came "in a little while," through the Holy Spirit. He not only leads humanity by the conquest of His earthly life, but is in humanity, — spiritually, most really, — to bring with Himself the whole mass of humanity to the goal, to the judgment-seat of His own ideal for it, to the Great Day of God's Complete Victory. That is what we mean first of all when we declare our belief in the closing clause of the second paragraph of the Creed. The other thoughts of which I have spoken are included, but this is the inspiration of them all, the thought which brings the history of Christ to its climax.

The interpretation which the Fourth Gospel puts upon the coming of the Holy Spirit is then not a diminution of the Christian expectation of the ages. No Christian hope which has in it any vitality can ever become less with the multiplying of experience and knowledge. The erudition which can seem to reduce

the content of belief is not founded upon truth. For the best of the past must always, with the richness of life, merge itself into an increasingly glorious future of faith. The best is always yet to be. The kingdom comes not with observation. Its ascendency consists in its perpetual growth. The coming of our Lord is an eternal coming; now through the Holy Spirit, and at last through a revelation of God completely to an everlasting triumph.

All these anticipations must have their proper place. Nevertheless the last word of the New Testament as shown in the Fourth Gospel is that Christ's well-understood promise was literally fulfilled. He did come again in the lifetime of His apostles as He said. He came in glory and in power through the Holy Spirit of God.

VIII

A THOUSAND CHRISTIAN YEARS

I

CHRISTIAN history is part of the New Testament, for it is the best commentary on the New Testament. There is in the Bible the beginning of reflection on the unique revelations of the first century, but it is only the beginning. There were profound facts of Christian experience which the later years were bound to systematize if they could. And the meaning which a growing theology and tradition ascribed to the Gospel facts must be reverently inspected. For this meaning was obliged to meet the requirements of experience; and we cannot safely judge the New Testament without learning what good Christians in succeeding centuries made of it. The modern tendency to read the New Testament as if no people had lived and reflected from the time of its writing until now is not sane.

The Johannine saying of Christ about the Holy Spirit, "He shall guide you into all truth," [1] makes the Spirit the Revealer continuing the revelation of the Son. There are events in the human life of the Holy Spirit as truly as there are events in the human life of the Son of God. These events are partly in the realm of what for convenience we call doctrine, partly in the realm of action. It is my purpose in this chapter to glance at the course of the first thou-

[1] *St. John* xvi, 13.

sand years of history after the days of St. John to discover, first, what the Holy Spirit revealed in them of Himself; and, secondly, to see, so far as we can, what in this time He did for the world.

II

The doctrine of the Church is based on the immediate experience of Christian people at the times when the various doctrines were enunciated, this experience being both tested and stimulated by reflection upon the experience recorded in the Bible, and by what seemed to men the inevitable inferences from this past authoritative experience. In most cases doctrines were set forth as the result of controversy. When scholars and saints, and certain folk who were neither, disagreed about the significance of vital Biblical experience, decision was forced upon the Church. Whether it is better to go on living from day to day, using the Gospel facts as we can apply them practically, or to build up a philosophy to govern our acts, was not an alternative within the power of the Church of the early Christian centuries. The Church could not choose. The necessity of making doctrines was thrust upon it. We make disparaging remarks about the bickering and hate which these discussions, and the Councils resulting, engendered. We may not excuse the bad feeling; but we may explain that the disputants were in deadly earnest. And there is a higher, even a heavenly, side to the whole doctrinal process: we may venture to believe that the Holy Spirit was demanding that the world, helped by His gracious power all through the ages, should at length come to know Him, to understand Him.

We now know that before the middle of the second century, in the Baptismal Creed of Rome (which is the foundation of what we call the Apostles' Creed), Christians were declaring their belief in the Holy Spirit, just as they declared their belief in the Father and in the Son. Early hymns bear the same witness. But until the third century no creed or hymn went so far as to assert the relationship of the Spirit to the Father and to the Son. In the fragments of surviving literature there was a similar reserve, though there were various tendencies appearing; giving Him a third and subordinate place in a Sacred Trinity,[1] or calling Him the Servant of the Son,[2] or identifying Him with the Son,[3] or saying that He prepares man for the Son.[4] When the Arian controversy began, attention was centred upon the relation of the Son to the Father, and the creed set forth at Nicæa (325) stopped abruptly after the words, "And in the Holy Spirit." Athanasius, who had been the champion of what we now call the Nicene doctrine of the Son, was again the chief antagonist of the Arians when they maintained (in 359) that the Holy Spirit is a creature. The creed set forth at the Council of Constantinople (381), and afterwards confirmed at the Council of Chalcedon (451), added to the words "Holy Spirit," this phrase: "the Lord, the lifegiver, that proceedeth from the Father, that with the Father and the Son is together worshipped and together glorified; Who

[1] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. cxvi: "the angel of God, *i.e.*, the Power of God sent to us through Jesus Christ."

[2] Tatian, *To the Greeks*, ch. xiii: "the minister of the suffering God."

[3] Aristides, *Apology*, 15: "the Son of God . . . having come down from heaven in the Holy Spirit."

[4] Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, bk. iv, ch. xx, § 5: "Spirit truly preparing man in the Son of God, and the Son leading him to the Father."

spake by the Prophets." Scholars note the care of the framers of this clause not to go beyond the words of the New Testament. But the interpretation placed upon the words was unequivocal. The supplementary council which met at Constantinople in 382 sent out a letter to certain Western bishops assembled in Rome; in this letter are these words: "This is the faith which ought to be sufficient for you, for us, for all who wrest not the word of the true faith . . . that teaches us to believe in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. According to this faith there is one Godhead, Power, and Substance of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; the dignity being equal, and the majesty being equal in three perfect Essences and three perfect Persons. Thus there is neither room for the heresy of Sabellius by the confusion of the Essences or destruction of the Individualities . . . which divides the substance, the nature, and the Godhead, and superinduces on the uncreated, consubstantial, and coëternal Trinity a nature posterior, created, and of different substance."[1] All orthodox theologians of this period are fixed in their belief that the Spirit is not a temporary expression of God's life, but "a timeless interior relation in God."

By the end of the fourth century the Church, as governed by its councils and by its greatest thinkers, was sure of two deductions from the words of the New Testament, especially in the Pauline Epistles and the Fourth Gospel: first, that the Holy Spirit is divine; and, secondly, that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and also to the Son in the Perfect Unity of God.

The only other doctrine to which I shall refer is

[1] Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. v, ch. ix, ed. Schaff.

that which is indicated by the word "procession." Carefully basing their words on Scripture the Fathers said that the divine Essence in the Son and in the Spirit is eternally derived from the Father. In the creed constructed at Nicæa and Constantinople it is declared that the Son is begotten of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. In theological language it was said that the Son is derived from the Father by generation; the Spirit, by procession. More and more, thinkers said that though the Son was derived from the Father only, the Spirit was derived from the Father through the Son; though some believed that, in spite of authority for this in the Fourth Gospel, they must guard the unity of God by making the Father only the sender of the Spirit. Upon this problem the great Augustine gave many years of thought, and his conclusion was that the Father and the Son are the common Source of the Spirit. "He is Their common life," he preached; "by That then which is the bond of communion between the Father and the Son, it is Their pleasure that we should have communion both among ourselves and with Them, and to gather us together in one by that same Gift, which One they both have, that is, by the Holy Spirit, at once God and the Gift of God. . . . So then the Father is Himself the True Origin to the Son, who is the Truth, and the Son is the Truth, originating from the True Father, and the Holy Spirit is Goodness, shed abroad from the Good Father and the Good Son."[1] Of course the Scriptural strength of his argument rested on the Fourth Gospel, in which our Lord sometimes said that He would pray the Father, and the Father would send to the disciples another

[1] *Sermon* xxi [lxx. Ben.], § 18., ed. Schaff.

Comforter,[1] and sometimes said that He himself would send the Comforter.[2] Augustine appreciated the necessity felt by other theologians, both earlier and later, to guard the central source of life in the Godhead, and he explained that he did this by reminding the Church that the Father and the Son are one in substance. The Eastern thinkers, though willing to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, were not willing to say that He proceeds from the Father and the Son. When therefore Western thought became so saturated with Augustine's reasoning that it added *Filioque* to the clause in the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople, the change seemed to the Church of the East so vital that the Church of the West and the Church of the East fell apart. It is the general opinion of historians that, if *per filium* had been added instead of *filioque*, Greeks and Latins would have alike subscribed to it.[3]

III

Let us now try to see how these far-away doctrines touch our own experience or our own conception of necessary ideas. How do these explanations of the Fathers and the Councils satisfy our intuitions of what the Holy Ghost is to us, and of what we conceive the Holy Spirit is in the life of God?

(1) What we seek in our highest moments is a real and direct companionship with God. We desire know-

[1] *St. John* xiv, 16, 26.

[2] *St. John* xvi, 7.

[3] This is borne out by a reference to John of Damascus, the last great theologian of the Eastern Church (at the beginning of the eighth century). He declared that though the Holy Spirit is of the Son, He is not from the Son. Further, being from the Father, He rests in the Son, and therefore proceeds to man through the Son. See *De Fide Orth.* i, 8, 12, 13.

ledge of His character, and therefore it is vitally important for us to be sure that we may rely wholly upon the revelation of God's character in Jesus Christ. We wish to know in our discouragement and panic if God forgives and helps and strengthens as Jesus forgave and helped and made men strong. We ask if God's attitude towards us is exactly the attitude of Jesus towards the men of His day. His authority was obviously beyond that of scribes, or even of prophets: was it a completely divine authority? Could one rest in it? The question of Nicæa was not a far-away theological theory; it was an exceedingly practical problem. So when men were assured through the Council that the Son is not merely of like nature, but of the same nature, with the Father, they felt secure in the words, "Come unto me, . . . and I will give you rest." They were secure in the love of the Father. The Christian world as a whole is today confident in God's love: we forget, ungratefully, by what arduous steps that confidence was attained.

But even this did not satisfy men at that time, nor does it satisfy us. We long for direct relationship. We demand some way by which we may speak to the God of Love, and be assured that He hears us. There is a Voice within us. The Church then as now had various confident intimations that there is within individuals and the whole community a Spirit, guiding, guarding, warning, comforting, urging it on to holiness and attainment. Who is this Spirit? — a creature used as God's messenger? — a mere breath from God, an emanation? Or is this Spirit *the* Personality — God Himself? If this Spirit is God Himself, then we can be in an even more intimate contact with God than

those fortunate men who knew Jesus Christ face to face. There is no separation of time or place that can part us from the most loving God. When the Arians attributed to the Holy Spirit a personality separate from the personal life of God, they were striking at the deepest experience of the saints; namely, the experience that in their contact with the Holy Spirit they were in contact with the One Only God "thinking, willing, acting, in one of His three eternal spheres of thought, volition, and activity."

Just here we might find Sabellianism attractive: we might wonder if God were not sometimes Father, sometimes Son, sometimes Holy Spirit. A little later I shall speak of this more fully, but now I wish to speak of that aspect of Sabellianism which attempts to describe an inner experience. The description is too poor for the facts. For from Bible times till now devout men have felt that in the Holy Spirit they are in contact with the Father; and therefore men pray to the Father. In the same way, from St. Paul's day, men have spoken of the presence of Christ and the presence of the Spirit in such a way that it is hard to tell which thought is uppermost in their minds. "We, apart from the Spirit," said Athanasius, "are strange and distant from God, and by the participation of the Spirit we are knit into the Godhead; so that our being in the Father is not ours, but is the Spirit's which is in us and abides in us, while by the true confession we preserve It in us, John again saying, 'Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God'. . . . Since the Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given from the Word, He wills that we should receive the Spirit, that, when we receive It, thus having the Spirit of the Word

which is in the Father, we too may be found on account of the Spirit to become One in the Word, and through Him in the Father." [1]

So again Basil of Cæsarea, in one of his letters, wrote: "Since the Spirit is Christ's and of God, as says Paul, then just as he who lays hold on one end of the chain pulls the other to him, so he who 'draws the Spirit,' as says the prophet, by His means draws to him at the same time both the Son and the Father. And if any one verily receives the Son, he will hold Him on both sides, the Son drawing towards him on the one His own Father, and on the other His own Spirit. For He who eternally exists in the Father can never be cut off from the Father, nor can He who worketh all things by the Spirit ever be disjoined from His own Spirit. Likewise, moreover, he who receives the Father virtually receives at the same time both the Son and the Spirit; for it is in no wise possible to entertain the idea of severance or division, in such a way as that the Son should be thought of apart from the Father, or the Spirit be disjoined from the Son. But the communion and the distinction apprehended in them are, in a certain sense, ineffable and inconceivable, the continuity of nature being never rent asunder by the distinction of the hypostases, nor the notes of proper distinction confounded in the community of essence." [2]

Chrysostom was not a theologian, but he had much to do with human experience, and his testimony is therefore valuable. Commenting on two verses in Romans, in which are the clauses, "If Christ is in you, . . . if the Spirit . . . dwelleth in you," Chrysostom explains: "Now this the Apostle says, not as affirming that the

[1] *Third Discourse against the Arians*, ch. xxv, ed. Schaff.
[2] *Epistle* xxxviii, § 4.

Spirit is Christ, — far from it, — but to show that he who hath the Spirit not only is called Christ's, but even hath Christ Himself. For it cannot but be that where the Spirit is, there Christ is also. For wheresoever one Person of the Trinity is, there the whole Trinity is present. For it is undivided in Itself, and hath a most entire Oneness." [1]

Sometimes the Fathers came to the very edge of Sabellianism, as, for instance, in these words of Marius Victorinus: "The Holy Ghost is in a certain other sense Jesus Christ Himself; that is, a hidden Christ, a Christ within, conversing with souls, teaching these things, giving understanding, and being generated by the Father through Christ, and in Christ. . . . Nevertheless Christ has His own personal existence, and the Holy Spirit His, but both are one substance." [2]

These sentences of the distant past could be duplicated by men of Christian experience in our own age, notably by Dr. Moberly.[3] They are the careful theological explanation of what the so-called "simple Christian" has reached by his life in the Holy Spirit. He knows that through the Spirit, He has Christ in his heart; and he knows also that by the same Spirit he can cry, "Father." The Holy Spirit is not to him an individual, as by some tritheistic formula, but He is "the indivisible Godhead subsisting and operating in one of the essential relations of His Tripersonal Life." [4] To the ordinary man the most comforting thought is that through the Holy Spirit he has in himself the

[1] *On the Epistle to the Romans*, Homily xiii, *Rom.* viii, 10 f., ed. Schaff.

[2] *Fourth Discourse against the Arians:* "Jesum Christum occultum, interiorem, cum animis fabulantem, docentem ista, intelligentiasque tribuentem. . . ."

[3] *Atonement and Personality*, pp. 154 ff.

[4] Professor Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, p. 376.

presence of the Incarnate Christ, God made concrete and thoroughly translated into human terms, — "the only mode of presence which could be quite absolutely direct, and primary, and real." [1] Thus old words fit the craving of our constant human experience.

IV

This period of constructive theology based upon personal experience and the experience of the New Testament did not exhaust its adventure upon explanations of our own lives; it boldly, and at the same time reverently and humbly, tried to tell, so far as human knowledge and speech can tell, what must be in the life of God. And in the Tripersonal Life of God it found place for the eternal Personality of the Holy Spirit.

The Ancient Church built up its idea of God from the revelation of the Bible and from what it trusted that God had revealed to the Church itself, both individually and collectively. The sufficient assumption to make men dare to describe God is that God desires His human children to know Him, as a means to loving Him. Another conviction, clearly announced in the Bible, is that God made man in His own image; and again there is an assumption in the feeling that thus God could make men His companions, His friends. Then the Ancient Church, both from revelation and from experience, made God the perfect original of what we see copied not only in individual man, but in humanity. The mysterious doctrine of the Trinity stands for this idea of relationship in God, whereby God can be the unselfish lover, even

[1] R. C. Moberly, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

before the world was. The Father loves the Son and the Son loves the Father, and the Love of both is the Holy Spirit. As we think the family the unit of the state rather than the individual, so we see that the primal unity of the Uncaused Cause of all things is the perfection of relationship in which Love can have its complete expression.

A useful method of examining the doctrines of the past is to test them by the heresies that were in a sense their foundation; that is, a heresy is most commonly a half-truth stated without its complement. Thus it is always best to see if a heresy cannot be included in some larger doctrine, where the truth in the heresy will be conserved and only its partialness and negation will be denied. The two heresies which throw most light upon the Life of God are Sabellianism and Tritheism. This is true, first of all, because they are the heresies which have most persistently struggled to the surface, in one form or another, all through Christian history. Sabellianism makes the Trinity to vanish in unity, there being only one Person who appears to the world now as Father, now as Son, now as Spirit. And Tritheism is the heresy which is set far in the other extreme, making the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit three distinct and separate individuals; so that it might be conceived that the Father was angry and the loving Son set Himself the task of appeasing this angry Father.

The strongest way to meet these two heresies is to hold the two fast together and to let them correct one another by the light which the truth in one throws upon the truth in the other. Beginning with the second, I believe that we are receding from the recent tendency to explain that our modern word

"person" is too strong a word to translate the corresponding term in the ancient doctrine. We are defining person, more and more, not as an end in itself, but as an opportunity for relationship, for a larger end whose limits we do not yet see, an element in that World-man, the Church Ideal made real, the composite and present friend of God. The word "person" stands less and less for individuality, as we reach up through families to kingdoms and republics, to the Bride of Christ, which is humanity chosen in the boundless Church to be henceforth the accepted and accepting friend of God. A little while ago we thought that personality might be the inclusive term of both humanity and the Godhead. Now we know that there is some elusive and majestic term to be revealed to men, — perhaps not in this dispensation, — which shall tell of the unity that is an end itself, a perfect and organic whole.

Sabellianism is the crude and unbalanced, but still justifiable, effort to show that the unity of God is without distraction. It is, or ought to be, satisfied, by the theological explanation that in each Person of the Trinity the other Persons are by Love implicitly present. Thus our Saviour declared of the Holy Spirit, "He shall glorify me: for He shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you."[1] The Son had sought to reveal the Father; the Father glorified the Son; the Son drew out the affections of the disciples towards the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit was to receive from Him who had received all that the Father had, and was to give it to men. All human analogies are confessedly inadequate and therefore may easily mislead; but I cannot help drawing attention to a

[1] *St. John* xvi, 14.

very fine family relationship where the husband is always telling his friends the nobility of his wife and his son, that these friends may love them in him, and not himself alone; where the wife is always telling her friends of the nobility of her husband and her son, that her friends too may never separate her life from those who are bone of her bone, soul of her soul; and where the son is telling those who are his chosen, what is the nobility of his parents, that his friends too may see his life and his parents' lives as one in him. Or, again, we may think of the lover who was not admitted to his beloved, till, when asked who was at the door, he could answer, "I am thou." Now if we return to the hypothesis that God made the world that He might love man, and man might love Him, then we may, in this rough fashion, ask if it may not be as if the "Persons" in God's Unity each longed that man should love the Others rather than Himself alone. What we find dimly reflected in the most nearly perfect human relationship seems to have its originating cause in that relationship which is symbolized by the words: "This is my beloved Son: hear him;"[1] "My Father is greater than I;"[2] "It is expedient that I go away; for if I depart, I will send the Comforter unto you."[3] And we know by history and our own experience that the Spirit, even as the Father and the Son, has been turning the love of men not first to Himself. How, through Him, has humanity's love been turned to the Incarnate Christ! And it was St. Paul who, out of his experience, said that the Holy Spirit strives with our spirits, making us say, "Father."[4] It is like the story of a beautiful mother teaching her child

[1] *St. Mark* ix, 9.
[2] *St. John* xiv, 28.
[3] *St. John* xvi, 7.
[4] *Gal.* iv, 6; *Rom.* viii, 26.

to pray to the Father in heaven; or it is like the same mother urging her child to ask the earthly father for some earthly favour, because, to ask and to receive it, will bind the love of her child more strongly to the father than to herself.

And thus we come to the reason (which is both human and divine), why the Persons of the Trinity cannot be separated. Because Each is perfect love, Each is filled with the life of the Others. The Transcendent Father and He who is at once the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world and the Christ of a few years in Palestine are both completely present in the Spirit as He besieges our hearts. This gives us all for which Sabellianism was striving; there is no word of a tender Son turning away the anger of a hard Father; there is only the music of an ineffable Love passing all imagining. It is a unity not bare and silent, but rich and vocal. It is the unity and the love of a Being more than personal, in which personality is only part, however great in itself; and when the Name is found it will be a name to which humanity in its unity may aspire to climb in its solid, all-inclusive effort to be the friend of God.

V

While this contemplation of the Person and influence of the Holy Spirit was going on in the first thousand years of Christian history, at least in the earlier part of this period, there were outward events in the life of the Spirit. These were chiefly manifest in the lives of individuals and in the corporate life of the Church.

A. The acknowledged power of the Holy Spirit in

the individual life can be followed only faintly. For the very highest order of sainthood, normal and thorough and modest, is apt to have no chronicler. One remembers the picturesque story of Leonides, the devout father in Alexandria, who went each night to the bedside of his little sleeping son and kissed his breast, because he knew it to be the temple of the Holy Ghost: this child was Origen, through whom came at length some of the most spiritual of theological teaching. The other example that instantly comes to mind is that of Augustine. His submission to the Holy Spirit was not through the gradual obedience of childhood, but by a sudden conversion in the maturity of a shameful manhood. In his later expositions of doctrine and experience he allowed practically no place for the individual human will; if a man was good, Augustine attributed the whole goodness to the grace of God conveyed through the Holy Spirit. This was not due to his fiery hostility to Pelagianism, it was but due to his own rescue from a life of sin. When a man is as old as Augustine was, it is only as by a miracle that firmly-fixed habits can be rooted up and others planted in their place. The power of the Holy Spirit to change men utterly is illustrated by the twice-born men all through Christian history; but Augustine is the most satisfactory type of this whole array of saints won from vicious living. And the interest in Augustine is intensified by the fact that he was mentally equipped to describe the process of the great change in his heart. "The love of God," he quoted in his *Confessions*, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."[1] Again he said in one of his sermons, "We

[1] *Op. cit.*, § xiii, 31: *Rom.* v, 5.

must believe that the first blessing of God's goodness in the Holy Ghost is the remission of sins in regeneration." [1] Still again, speaking of holiness, he said: "Perfect love is perfect holiness. . . . It is certainly not 'shed abroad in our hearts' by any energies . . . within us, but 'by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us,' and which both helps our infirmity and coöperates with our strength." [2]

It would be possible to give a long list of saints who would follow Augustine in ascribing their wonderful turning from sin towards holiness and strength to the Holy Spirit received in their inmost lives. But Origen, as an example of normal growth, and Augustine, as an example of violent conversion, must suffice as types of the most astonishing events in the life of the Spirit, — the power to do for men what the Incarnate Christ in the days of His flesh did for Zacchæus and the Magdalen.

The saints of this period did not attempt to say that this power of the Holy Spirit was new in the Christian dispensation. Many of the Fathers bear their testimony to the conviction of the Church that the One Holy Spirit guided the great men of the Old Testament as He guided the great men of the New Testament. "The Spirit who inspired the Prophets," said Ambrose, "is the same Comforter who descended upon the Apostles." [3] It was the revelation of Jesus Christ which caused men to open their lives to the influence of the Holy Spirit to a degree never known before.[4]

[1] *Sermon* xxi [lxx. Ben.], § 19, ed. Schaff.

[2] *On Nature and Grace*, ch. lxxxiv, ed. Schaff.

[3] *On the Holy Spirit*, I, iv, 55. *Cf.* 61.

[4] *E.g.*, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* iv, 16: "It is the Holy Spirit that knows the mysteries, searching all things, even the depths of God; that

B. From individuals I turn to the corporate life of the Church, and ask in what ways the power of the Holy Spirit was manifest. Without attempting to be in any sense exhaustive, I select these five manifestations: (1) the growth of the ministry; (2) the gradual growth of the Christian Year as a means of keeping the Church mindful of the earthly life of Jesus Christ; (3) making the Sacraments the medium of divine strength; (4) the General Councils; (5) the inclusion and absorption of the pagan religious life of the empire into Christianity.

(1) The time is past when attempts were made to show that, in the forty days during which our Lord was appearing to His disciples after His resurrection, He defined for them a system of Church polity. We are all inclined now to believe that He did something much more comprehensive: He breathed on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." The conclusive reason for believing that Christ left these matters of organization to the Holy Spirit and His disciples is that we know that the Apostles had no previous information how they should meet the inevitable question of the relation of the Gentiles to Judaism within Christianity. It is not a scandal but a sign of the divine Presence that the Christian ministry developed in the early Church, as the Church grew and as new needs arose. It is not the less authoritative because the plan for it was not given at the beginning. Christ, through the Holy Spirit, was to be in the Church more effectively than when He was seen in Galilee and Jerusalem, and the minis-

descended on the Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a dove; that wrought in the Law and Prophets; that even now seals thy soul at the time of Baptism. . . ."

try that grew within a few years into the institution, which is essentially as we now know it, is as truly His as if we had its announcement in the Gospel passages which could be indubitably assigned to the document called Q by scholars. The apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, mentioned by St. Paul, "for the work of the ministry," [1] were developed, as itinerant missionaries were less in demand, and as need for firmer organization appeared, into local church officers, presbyter-bishops, and deacons, clearly defined in the Pastoral Epistles.[2] When we reach Ignatius (about 115) we find the plea for order given in the words, "Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons." [3] Ignatius believed himself a prophet, and it is clear from the *Didache* (about 140) that "apostles" and "prophets" were the names of certain officers in the Church. If the prophets settled down in a community to preside over the Church there they were called "high priests." [4] All these terms show an organization in its gradual formation. Out of the various officers those were to survive who could best serve the spiritual life of the Church; or, putting the matter in another way, the Holy Spirit was to choose those officers who could best guide the life of the Church. And so the temperate words of the English Ordinal are justified, "It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

The function of a bishop was gradually enlarged. He became the chief clergyman in the local com-

[1] *Ephesians* iv, 11, 12.
[2] 1 *Timothy* iii, v, etc.
[3] *To the Philadelphians*, vii.
[4] *Didache* xiii, 3.

munity, and then the head of what we now call a diocese. So we reach what is called the monarchical episcopate. When conventions could not conveniently be assembled from the whole area of the Church, bishops were selected to be metropolitans or popes of districts; and when, owing to the Mohammedan invasions in the East and the barbarian invasions in the West, the Church seemed to be in peril of being submerged with a drowning civilization, then one metropolitan or pope, the Bishop of Rome, came to have increased power, whereby, on Christmas-day, 800, he crowned the barbarian Emperor, Charlemagne, in St. Peter's, Rome. It was a power, both temporal and spiritual, far removed from the simple jurisdiction exercised by the Apostle Peter. But it was, one is obliged to say, a development which, so far as human knowledge can see, saved the Church when times were troubled; and the development must have been the act of the Holy Spirit. The only condition to such an interpretation to the rise of the papacy is the frank admission that, when the need for such centralized authority was past, and when, moreover, it had been notoriously abused by people who sought and gained the office for ambition and not for service, then it was the compulsion of the same Holy Spirit which shattered Western Christendom and left this magnificent Bishop of Rome with only the shell of his mediæval office: the real power had been given to other agencies.

In all the ancient forms of ordination which have come down to us the laying on of hands was accompanied with prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the person who was being ordained. The laying on of hands was not thought important, being

only the Apostolic outward accompaniment of the prayer: it was the prayer of faith which was essential.[1] And it was the confidence that the Holy Spirit was given which made the clergy and people believe that the man was truly ordained. "We stretch forth the hand, O Lord God of the heavens, . . . upon this man," is the form prescribed in the *Sacramentary of Serapion* for the ordination of a presbyter, "and beseech thee that the Spirit of truth may dwell (*or* settle) upon him. Give him the grace of prudence and knowledge and a good heart. Let a divine Spirit come to be in him that he may be able to be a steward of thy people and an ambassador of thy divine oracles. . . ."[2] The same *Sacramentary* gives similar words for the ordering of a deacon and the consecration of a bishop. Another collection of liturgical forms, *The Testament of our Lord* (about 350), prescribes these words for the ordination of a presbyter, "Make him worthy, being filled with thy wisdom and thy hidden mysteries, to feed thy people in holiness of heart, pure and true; praising, lauding, giving thanks; . . . labouring with cheerfulness and patience to be a vessel of thy Holy Spirit; having and bearing always the Cross of thy Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."[3]

It is safe to say that the ministry of the Church is the creation of the Holy Spirit, adapted to varying conditions as need arises, informed by a present power and not merely by a past authority, and finding its title to continuity, not by exactness of out-

[1] See Augustine, *Against the Donatists*, Book III, Chap. XVI (21).

[2] *Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book*, tr. John Wordsworth, S.P.C.K. ed., p. 73. This is an Egyptian Pontifical, dating about the middle of the fourth century. Serapion was a friend of Athanasius.

[3] *The Testament of our Lord*, tr. from the Syriac, J. Cooper, p. 91.

ward form, but by its ability to subserve the purpose of the Eternal Spirit of God.

(2) One of the ways in which the Holy Spirit has taken the things of the Son and has shown them to the world has been by creating in the Church, by a gradual process, the Christian Year. It began by the keeping of Sunday as the Lord's Day, the weekly commemoration of Christ's resurrection. The first annual commemoration of which we have any record was the Pascha, signifying at first only the day of the Crucifixion, then this day and the two days following, and only later, Easter.[1] The fact that the first disciples were Hebrews made it natural that the Passover should instantly have a new content. How early the custom began we do not know, but by the middle of the second century, the Christian Pascha was everywhere a recognized institution of the Church. Asia and Rome differed on the day to be kept, and a mighty controversy surged over the Church. The Asiatics kept the day of the month, the Roman Church kept Friday, that Easter might always be on the Lord's Day. Those who kept the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day it might be in the week, were called "Quartodecimans." Even when Sunday was agreed upon, the Churches, — in Alexandria and Rome, for instance, — could not agree upon which Sunday, owing to different methods of calculating Easter, the festival should be. These controversies were not always edifying, but they show how much men cared about remembering our Lord's life. Early in the fourth century we know that December 25 was being kept in the West as our Saviour's Birthday; while the East kept January 6 as the day both of

[1] J. Dowden, *The Church Year and Kalendar*, pp. 104 ff.

His birth and of His baptism. When the customs of the East and the West came more closely together, the West, without forgetting the baptism, kept January 6 especially in memory of the visit of the Magi. Holy Week, — or the Great Week, as it is called in the East, — from Palm Sunday to the Great Sabbath, was developed from the third to the fifth century. It was widely customary to receive the Holy Communion on the evening of Thursday in the Great Week in memory of its institution, as we know from the synodal declaration of Carthage in 397,[1] and from St. Augustine.[2] The forty days of fasting, called Quadragesima, were already being observed in the fourth century. The Ascension was also being kept in the fourth century, the festival being celebrated outside the cities in accordance with St. Luke xxiv, 50. Towards the close of the fourth century a record from Jerusalem testifies that February 14 (the fortieth day after January 6) was set apart to commemorate the Presentation of Christ in the Temple.[3] It was later kept on February 2 and called the Purification, thus connecting it with the life of the Virgin. But for many years it was called Hypapante (the "Meeting" of Simeon and the Infant Saviour) and the emphasis was wholly upon an event in our Lord's life. (Even the Church of Rome seemingly had no festival of the Virgin before the seventh century.[4]) The Transfiguration was marked in the East during the eighth century, and was assigned to August 6. Pentecost was at first an inclusive term for the fifty days after

[1] *Concil. Carthag.* iii, c. 29.
[2] *Ep.* liv, *To Januarius*, ch. vii.
[3] J. Dowden, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.
[4] Mgr. L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Eng. tr. McClure, p. 270.

Easter, but in the latter part of the fourth century it was identified with the day of the gift of the Holy Spirit in Jerusalem. Thus by a definite institution of the Church the lessons gained in the former part of the Christian Year were spiritualized, and men were made to feel that it is the present Christ revealed and made near by the Holy Spirit whom men must seek, and not merely a Christ of the past, however devoutly and thankfully remembered.

The observance of the Christian Year seems a minor device in keeping Christ before men's minds; but from a knowledge of the past, as one derives it in sermons, and from a present experience, it may be quite definitely asserted that, through this constant reminder, the Holy Spirit has guided the minds of those who are set to teach, and also the minds of those who are taught, to give a just proportion to the varied acts and words of Jesus Christ. The Christian Year may be called a creative event in the life of the Holy Spirit.

(3) The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are also vivid reminders of the Lord Jesus. Though He himself founded them, the Ancient Church taught insistently that it was by the Holy Spirit that they became means of grace. One of the acts of the Holy Spirit has been to keep the Church obedient to these outward forms of loyalty to Christ, making the Church believe, in spite of all that scholars may say from time to time, that our Saviour certainly intended these institutions to be gratefully kept by those who followed Him.

In the Book of the Acts there are three records which are important in judging the relation of the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Sacrament of Baptism:

first, the baptism of converts in Samaria, who did not receive the gift of the Spirit at their baptism;[1] secondly, the baptism of the household of Cornelius, who received the Holy Spirit before they were baptized with water;[2] and, thirdly, the baptisms on Pentecost[3] and the baptism of Saul of Tarsus,[4] who received baptism and the gift of the Spirit simultaneously. The thinkers of the Early Church reflected on these Scriptural instances, and they also watched the lives of people whom they knew in their own day.

The Orders of Service contained prayers invoking the presence of the Holy Spirit; for example, this prayer, "King and Lord of all things, . . . see now from heaven and look upon these waters and fill them with Holy Spirit."[5] There was the expected inclination among the unlearned to make Baptism a magical rite, but the leaders protested. "There are many," said Ambrose, "who because we are baptized with water and the Spirit, think that there is no difference in the offices of water and the Spirit, and therefore think that they do not differ in nature. Nor do they observe that we are buried in the element of water that we may rise again renewed by the Spirit. For in the water is the representation of death, in the Spirit is the pledge of life, that the body of sin may die through the water, which encloses the body as it were in a kind of tomb, that we, by the power of the Spirit, may be renewed from the death of sin, being born again in God."[6] What is now called Confirmation was also associated with Baptism, and was

[1] *Acts* viii, 14, 16.
[2] *Acts* x, 47.
[3] *Acts* ii, 38.
[4] *Acts* ix, 17.
[5] Bishop Serapion's *Prayer Book*, Baptismal Prayers, S.P.C.K. ed., p. 68.
[6] *On the Holy Spirit*, I, vi, ed. Schaff.

apparently part of Baptism itself. In the East Confirmation followed (and still follows) Baptism immediately, being administered by the presbyter. In the West, Confirmation was administered by the bishop, and was administered immediately after Baptism if the candidate was an adult. And there was one other thought, especially impressed by Cyril of Jerusalem, showing that no merely outward act could suffice: "When thou art come before the bishops or presbyters or deacons," he taught, "approach the minister of Baptism, but approaching, think not of the face of him thou seest, but remember this Holy Spirit of whom we are now speaking. For He is present in readiness to seal thy soul. . . . If thou play the hypocrite, though men baptize thee now, the Holy Spirit will not baptize thee. But if thou approach with faith, though men minister in what is seen, the Holy Spirit bestows that which is unseen. . . . If thou believe, thou shalt not only receive remission of sins, but also do things which pass man's power."[1] In the same way one who received the Holy Spirit at the time of Baptism might not retain His presence, unless the temple of a man's life be kept meet for the home of the Spirit. Origen, commenting on Genesis vi, 3, wrote, "The Spirit of God is taken away from all who are unworthy."[2]

Normally the Church expected a man who submitted, loyally and enthusiastically, to a command of Christ, to receive the gift of the Spirit; for the obvious and natural reason that if a man opens his heart wide in loving response to the wish of any one, that person's spirit inevitably enters. We see this sacramental

[1] *Catechetical Lectures*, XXVI, 35 ff.
[2] *De Principiis*, bk. I, ch. iii, § 7.

act of receiving the spirit of another in every child who obeys, from a glad love, his father or his mother; in every student who tries hard to fulfil his great master's will for him; in every friend who from love tries to please his friend. Baptism is a definite response to a definite wish of the Supreme Master and Friend. And it is as natural for us as for the Early Church to expect a definite result in the admission of the divine Presence in a new and exultant certainty.

What this meant in an individual case may best be shown by a page from Christian experience. Let it be the testimony of Cyprian, who became Bishop of Carthage in 248. "I was," he wrote, "held in bonds by innumerable errors of my previous life and was so snared by them that I believed I could not get free. I yielded to the vices which clung to me, and, despairing of better things, I hugged my sins as if they had been household possessions, and stood watch over them. But after the grime of my past had been washed off by the water of new birth, and a heavenly light, serene and pure, had shone through my reconciled and purified breast, — after I had drunk of the Holy Spirit, and a second birth had revived and made me new, — suddenly and marvellously my doubts began to go, doors once tightly shut began to open, darkness grew to be light, the hard became easy, even what I had thought impossible I found that I could do. I then saw that what was born of the flesh and lived in sin was of the earth, and that what the Holy Spirit had brought to life in me was of God." [1]

The Baptism of infants shows a somewhat different experience. Doubtless for a considerable time after our Lord's earthly life, adults only were baptized.

[1] Epistle I, *To Donatus*, 4.

There is no warrant for believing that He explicitly told His disciples to baptize little children. So, here again, we may find a definite act of the Holy Spirit in taking up the Saviour's gentle welcome, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God,"[1] as the reason why, when there came to be Christian households and not simply Christian individuals, infants in those households should be received into the outward and visible kingdom of God, with full assurance that they too, through their corporate relationship, received the Holy Spirit. In one of his letters, Augustine wrote (408): "The possibility of regeneration through the office rendered by the will of another, when the child is presented to receive the sacred rite [of Baptism], is the work exclusively of the Spirit by whom the child thus presented is regenerated. . . . The regenerating Spirit is possessed in common both by the parents who present the child, and by the infant that is presented . . . ; the will of those who present is useful to the child."[2] This is an example of what modern thinkers are showing us daily; namely, the power of environment and heredity to take part in shaping the individual's life, so that when we attempt to describe an individual personality, we are forced to describe his relationships, the influences seen and unseen which bear down upon him, enter into him, and are an integral part of him. However we explain or justify infant Baptism we must in the light of Church experience ascribe its institution to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

When we turn to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

[1] *St. Mark* x, 14.

[2] *Epistle* xcviii, § 2: *To Boniface: tr.* Cunningham.

we find a slightly different history. In the New Testament the Holy Spirit is not once mentioned in connection with the Lord's Supper. Nor is there any distinct evidence during the first three centuries that the Holy Spirit was ever invoked in the consecration of the sacred elements.[1] In the *Sacramentary of Serapion* the only reference to the Holy Spirit in the Communion Service is directed to the clergy and people: "Make us living men. Give us a Spirit of light; . . . give us Holy Spirit, that we may be able to tell forth and to enunciate thy unspeakable mysteries; may the Lord Jesus speak in us, and Holy Spirit, and hymn thee through us."[2] The first indication that the Holy Spirit was invoked upon the elements is shown in Cyril's *Catechetical and Mystagogic Lectures*. (Cyril became Bishop of Jerusalem in 350, and died, after a troubled episcopate, in 386.) "We beseech the merciful God," he said, "to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Spirit has touched, is surely sanctified and changed."[3] The Eastern liturgies from this time generally associated the Holy Spirit with the Holy Communion, until later there was no exception. In the West there was simply the invocation of God.

It is interesting to note here that when Samuel Seabury was consecrated in Scotland the first Bishop for America, his Scotch consecrators insisted, as a condition of his consecration, that he should see that

[1] This is the conclusion of one so familiar with early Christian literature as Dr. Swete. See *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, p. 291.

[2] *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

[3] *Catechetical Lectures*, xxiii (*On the Mysteries* v), ed. Schaff.

in the American Communion Office there should be inserted the Invocation; and it is found today in the American Book of Common Prayer. The people pray to the Father, "Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood."[1] This can hardly be called a "primitive tradition," for neither the New Testament nor the Church of the first three centuries knew it; but it is in harmony with our Lord's words of institution. Moreover, it is the safeguard against a material interpretation of the Sacrament. The life to be communicated is the most real of all presences, a spiritual presence, not a carnal. We are asking that as our bodies are fed by the bread and wine, so our souls may, through the gift of the Spirit, be fed with the very Life of Christ.[2] The Eastern Church by its liturgy still assumes that Christ

[1] *Book of Common Prayer*, American edition, p. 236.

[2] W. R. Huntington, *A Short History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 54: "The two most noteworthy differences, however, are the omission from our [American] Prayer Book of the so-called Athanasian Creed, and the insertion in it of that part of the Consecration Prayer in the Communion Office known as the Invocation. The engrafting of this latter feature we owe to the influence of Bishop Seabury, who by this addition not only assimilated the language of our liturgy more closely to that of the ancient formularies of the Oriental Church, but also insured our being kept reminded of the truly spiritual character of Holy Communion. 'It is the spirit that quickeneth,' this Invocation seems to say: 'the flesh profiteth nothing.' Quite in line with this was the alteration made at the same time in the language of the Catechism. 'The Body and Blood of Christ,' says the English Book, 'which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' 'The Body and Blood of Christ,' says the American Book, 'which are spiritually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.'"

is wholly present from the beginning of the Service; the Latin Church came, in time, to teach that Christ was present physically, by transubstantiation, at a definite point in the Service.[1] The praying for the gift of the Spirit elevates the whole Service beyond the reach of a mere carnal and lower interpretation.

The Lord's Supper is in another sense the perpetual reminder and realization of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church, which is the Body of Christ. It is the bond of love, the visible binding together of the disciples in the one Lord. For the Lord's Supper is not only a Holy Communion with the Head of the Church, it is also a Holy Communion of the members of the

[1] Cf. Dr. A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 573 f.: "In this respect the Greek mystery and the Latin sacrament agree, that they make the oblation of the consecrated elements the climax of the divine office. But at this point, also, of their closest resemblance the widest possible divergence in practice occurs, indicating a radical difference in the manner of contemplating the eucharistic solemnity. In the Latin Mass, the priest elevates the elements after their consecration as a symbol of the sacrifice, an indication of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; this is the moment when the congregation kneels and worships. In the Eastern Church the most imposing moment in the service is not that which follows the consecration of the elements, but is connected with the Great Entrance, when the congregation fall down in the very path of the priests and worship while the elements are still unconsecrated and have not yet been placed upon the altar. The difference is profoundly suggestive. It can only be explained upon the ground that the real transformation takes place in the mind of the worshipper, who recognizes in the purpose to consecrate in formal manner the bread and the wine an antecedent divine action by which the material gifts of God, the food and drink, reveal the divine goodness and the divine life in the natural order. Out of this conviction had grown the sense of the value, the mystic importance of the Lord's Supper. In this popular reverence paid toward the elements of bread and wine, while as yet common food, there may be a trace of the earlier worship which associated them with the body of Christ, before the impressive ceremonial had been introduced, transforming the agape into the mystery of the altar."

Church one with another. Through the ages the Sacred Feast has been cumbered with discussion and clouded with definitions. We often reach the greatest truths by insisting on the simplest interpretation. However we may explain that the bread and the wine are sacramental of Christ's presence, we must see that the act which our Lord commanded is an extremely simple act. We are not asked to come with wisdom and understanding; we are asked to come with penitence, love, and faith, — qualities from which the humblest and most ignorant and pitiful are not barred. "Do this in remembrance of me," is the pathetic and solemn word of Christ which rings in every ear. It is loyalty, obedience, love; it is trying to do what we believe *He* wished us to do. So we come, high and low, fairly good and miserably wont to stray, learned and ignorant, happy and sad; we come as members one of another; we come asking the Holy Spirit to make us worthy; we come to be lost in the dear Christ that we may truly be found in Him. That the Holy Spirit has kept men in the Church true to this Holy Sacrament, through all explanations and no explanations, is one of the high acts of the Holy Spirit in human history.[1]

[1] Many readers of the patristic literature of the first seven or eight centuries have been perplexed by the words spoken of the Sacraments. They seem out of harmony with the New Testament, and they seem to contribute all too easily to the materialistic interpretation which was to be systematized in the Mediæval Church. For these reasons serious weight may be given the following words of Dr. Swete, a scholar not only competent because of his intimate acquaintance with this literature, but competent also because of the sanity of his judgment: "The whole Sacramental life of the Church was seen to proceed from the Spirit of grace. It was recognized that while visible elements and ministerial actions are used by Him as effectual signs of His grace, they derive their efficacy from Him alone, and that it is neither to the minister of the Sacrament nor to

(4) Christianity exists both for the individual and for humanity in its corporate aspect, both for the soul and for the Kingdom of God. Every man, through conscience, through prayer, and through sacraments, has the privilege of immediate approach to God in the Holy Spirit. The source of authority is immediately within him, to guide his steps. The Church, through its early history, was endeavouring to find the adequate means of securing the authority of the Holy Spirit for its corporate problems. For many centuries the ultimate authority of the Spirit was felt to be vested in the assembling of the leaders of the Church in what were called Œcumenical Councils. This was a natural deduction from the New Testament. For when the Apostolic Church was brought face to face with its first difficult question there was no attempt to ask one man to decide it, but "the apostles and presbyters came together to consider of this matter." [1] And when they had deliberated, they came to a decision; and this decision they announced with the introductory words, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." [2] The authority of the Holy Spirit,

the outward visible sign that its great effects are to be ascribed, but to the Holy Spirit Himself. It is He who sanctifies and seals the soul in Baptism; who makes the Bread and Cup of the Eucharist to be to the faithful the Body and Blood of Christ; who endues the ministers of the Church with the grace of Orders; who through their acts and words blesses and absolves. The Sacramental teaching of the ancient Church-writers loses the appearance of exaggeration which attaches to it in the judgment of many modern believers, when it is viewed in the light of the ancient doctrine of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Men who held that the Creator Spirit, who is the living Energy of God, dwells in the Holy Catholic Church and is operative in her ministerial acts, could find no words adequate to express their sense of the greatness of His work in the Sacraments. To magnify the Sacraments was to magnify the Divine Spirit, who lived and wrought in the Body of Christ."

[1] *Acts* xv, 6. [2] *Ibid.* 28.

so learned and so announced, evidently satisfied the Church.

Synods or councils had been convened before the fourth century in dioceses and in provinces, but it was only when the Emperor embraced Christianity that there was what might be called a Universal Council. These earlier councils, diocesan or provincial, were often composed, like the Apostolic Council, of others with the bishops. But when the Emperors began to summon councils they asked only bishops. During the first thousand years of Christian history there were eight of these Councils: the first in 325 at Nicæa, called by Constantine, to unify the Church on the Nature of the Son; the Second in 381 at Constantinople, called by Theodosius to determine the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; the third in 431 called by Theodosius the Younger to condemn the Nestorians; the fourth in 451 at Chalcedon under Marcian, which asserted the union of the divine and human natures in Christ; the fifth in 553 at Constantinople under Justinian, which condemned the doctrines of Origen and others; the sixth in 681 under Constantine V, to condemn the Monothelite heresy; the seventh in 787 at Nicæa, in the reign of Irene and her son Constantine, to establish the worship of images; and the eighth in 869 in Constantinople under Basilius and Adrian, to settle if possible the disputes of the Eastern and Western Churches, and to expel an intruding patriarch in Constantinople and restore his rival. From this outline it will be seen that the chief business of the Councils was, so far as the doctrine was concerned, to decide questions connected with the Person of our Saviour. The Bible was the chief source to which appeal was made: but ecclesiastical traditions had a

growing authority. When a majority had cast its vote, that vote was, in matters of faith, held to be the Voice of the Holy Spirit and was therefore held to be infallible. In matters of discipline the action of one council need not embarrass its successors, — and did not. The Council held at Constantinople in 381 was not recognized by the West till the sixth century. The whole Greek Church recognized only seven of these Councils; and the English Church after the Reformation recognized only five as having any real authority. Hooker recognized only four.

To read of these Councils in detail is not wholly edifying. The Emperors, finding the Empire unwieldy and prone to fall apart, saw in the Christian Church the only force strong enough to hold the Empire together. Their object in calling Councils, therefore, was to force the Church to be at unity in itself that it might thereby in turn unify the Empire. Sometimes the Emperor, as Theodosius after the Council at Constantinople in 381, used force, and ejected the heretics. But it was not infrequently an obscure person, like Athanasius at Nicæa, whose influence outweighed the power of the Emperor and his favourite bishops. The Œcumenical Councils have been called "the pitched battles of Church history"; and it was by no means a foregone conclusion which side would win. An interesting test is that in the long war with Arianism, the faith of Nicæa proved a living faith; for it throve under persecution and external failure; whereas, when the decisive battle was fought at Constantinople, the Arian forces melted away. Crowds of the Arians submitted to the orthodox doctrine, and the movement was repeated among new converts in the West, where it finally succumbed. The doctrinal definitions

of the first four Councils became the common property of even the Churches of the Reformation; and this general acceptance leads the Church to believe that, in spite of all the hard words that justly may be said about the extremely human elements manifesting themselves in the Councils, they did indeed become the medium of the Voice of the Holy Spirit, as the Church of their day interpreted them.

Men like Athanasius and Augustine exercised an influence which the thought of the Church has shown at every stage, and the influence is not yet exhausted. But the Councils have also exercised an influence which cannot be measured. We know that the Holy Spirit does speak through great geniuses; but we know also that He speaks through the earnest consultation of many minds, in so far as they come together with an openness of heart and a wish to be led by the highest. It was a majority vote that decided. Imperial force seemed often to brood over the deliberations. There were jealousies and partisanship and ecclesiastical prejudice; but there were many, we may be sure, who were first of all Christlike men, men who longed to do and say what was right, men who prayed for light and were willing to follow the light wherever it might shine, and these men neither Emperors nor scheming ecclesiastics could influence. Like a third party in the State they held, one thinks, the balance of power. While the factions pleaded and threatened, they prayed. Their minds were not made up beforehand. With responsibility they listened to debates, they sifted, they thought; but, above all, they knocked at the door of the Divine Spirit, and in accordance with the promise it was opened unto them. We do not need to look on these ancient Councils as a mechanical means of

securing the judgment of the Holy Spirit. By meditating upon the Church as we see it today, we can know what the silent voting of the saints might mean in the early centuries; we may believe that by them the grosser elements, evident to every reader of the history, were transcended; we may see how the Councils were means of revealing the wisdom of the Holy Spirit.

George Tyrrell once said that the Christlike alone are genuine successors of the Apostles.[1] "Could all these," he went on, "and only these, be united in Œcumenical Council, there would Christ be in the midst of them; their utterances and teachings would be, purely and only, the product of spiritual experience, undisturbed and unalloyed by the influence of intellectual curiosity, or of sacerdotal ambition, or of other unworthy determinants of doctrinal variation; their authority would be that of the collective conscience of humanity . . . . *In theory*, her Œcumenical Councils are assemblies of the Saints; *in fact*, as history shows, they are nothing of the kind."[2] All this is illuminatingly true; but there were some saints in Nicæa, and Constantinople, and Ephesus, and Chalcedon. There were old men who had been maimed in persecution, and their bruises and scars and mutilation were evident to all. They had suffered for what they believed the truth. They were not far from the end. Ecclesiastical politics and an Emperor's machinations could have meant nothing to them. They were looking with far and unworldly gaze, as men strove, and when they voted, they voted not as bishops, but as humble servants of Jesus, who sought only to be informed by

[1] I have quoted some of these words in another connection. See p. 12.

[2] *Essays on Faith and Immortality*, pp. 116 f.

His Spirit. Tyrrell's judgment of the conspicuous people in the Councils is the judgment of all honest historians, and it cannot safely be challenged. But the saving minority who were apart from parties on either side were the real Council. They were two or three gathered together in Christ's Name, and He was in the midst of them: through the Holy Spirit they spoke for Him.

It is important to notice that these Councils which succeeded in commanding practically universal consent from the later Church, were concerned almost exclusively with the attempt to know the Lord Jesus Christ. If we may believe with the Early Church that the Councils were truly guided by the Holy Spirit, then we have the beautiful fulfilment of the Saviour's promise to His disciples, "He shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you."

(5) One of the phenomena of the early centuries of the Christian Church was the influence of the pagan religions of the Roman Empire upon the Christianity which was in the process of conquering them. This phenomenon has been the jest of the profane historian, and the perplexity and the grief of the religious writer. While Christianity was either despised or persecuted it was absorbing from both Jew and Gentile the varied religious life of the past. But the process was magnified when Christianity was recognized as the court religion. Whether we look upon Constantine as a Christian or as an indifferent pagan using Christianity as the only vital religious force surviving in his time, we must see that his leniency towards the Faith brought many into the Church who were still pagan with the very thinnest Christian veneer. The story of Clovis, king of the Salian Franks, is also instructive.

Clovis had married a Christian wife, who earnestly desired his conversion. Hard pressed by his enemy in a battle near Cologne, Clovis, as a last resource, prayed to his wife's God, with the promise that if victory ensued he would become a Christian. To his amazement Clovis won the victory, and he kept his promise. On the following Christmas-day Clovis and several thousand of his army were baptized by Remigius, Bishop of Rheims. It is easy to imagine what a huge section of Frankish heathenism entered the Church with these ill-instructed converts.

Even when the admission to the Church was by persuasion and conviction and not by force or superstition, the converts, so far as they had any past religious life, must have brought to Christianity nearly as much of their paganism as the earliest followers of Jesus brought of their Judaism. Therefore the vocabulary and the institutions of the Church savour not only of the Old Testament and its ceremonies, but of all other religious teachings and rites which had helped men to find God, however remotely, with whatever admixture of error. Beloved feasts and processions of the heathen world became part of Christianity and enclosed at last a Christian meaning. Rites and mysteries from the worn-out East, and from the West and North, struggling to the birth, brought their colour into the stern outlines of the primitive Christian Sacraments. The old Pontifex Maximus of pagan Rome asserted his vigour in the Christian Bishop who was at last to call himself Pope and more than King.

One may begin with Christianity, and say that Christianity absorbed all this varied religious expression of the great Roman world; or one may begin with Roman imperialism and say that it adopted the

high meaning of Christianity and so breathed into the perishing forms an energy that was to make them live again. But the most satisfactory hypothesis is to say that the Holy Spirit is the communicating life of every religious hope and desire, not only in Judaism and Christianity, but in all the so-called pagan and heathen types of religion. We do not by any means need to believe that all these forms of religious life were even approximately on the same level. Not only as Christians, but as observers of the human story, we must believe that Christianity is the crowning revelation to men. But God had not left Himself without witnesses in any race or nation of the world. Every man, we as Christians believe, was dear to Him, and potentially His friend in return. The Hebrews, with a genius for religion, were often stiff-necked; how much more, the peoples with fainter intuitions. In spite of this, all life that could call itself in any sense religious, whether it recognized the source of its inspiration or not, had within it the love and the yearning of the Holy Spirit of God. When therefore the fulness of the times had come, when the visible Christ had lived and the Holy Spirit was given with a power of being received in a unique way, then Christianity began its triumphant course through the religious world, absorbing the thought of Greece, the mystery of the East, the order and stateliness of Rome, the barbaric grandeur of Northern Europe, and all the hopes and fears scattered abroad; or, to give what I must believe the ultimate explanation, the Holy Spirit came like the wind that bloweth where it listeth and gathered up in one, all who had felt, however slightly, the breath of His strength and His love, in the various aspects of religion throughout the world.

We may lament that a great deal of what we call paganism still clings to certain divisions of the Church. We may rightly think that surviving pagan forms obscure the bright simplicity known to the immediate followers of Christ. We may, in a lofty Church, in the presence of an august ceremonial, with its intricate music and distracting movement, long for the remote day when Jesus gathered His congregation on the hillside and in the sight of the open sky and the garments of poor country-folk caused men to lift up their hearts. But we do not, if we are normal, long for the bareness of a Jewish synagogue because it was the prevailing type of religious expression in Nazareth. We are grateful that the loving Christ, through His generous Holy Spirit, has brought to His Church the appeals of many races and of many times, even if we must meet here and there the survival of some thought or form which we cannot honestly call Christian.

In the heroic missionary work of the last hundred years the Church has slowly come to the conclusion that every nation has some knowledge of God. The study of comparative religions has not been wholly an academic pastime; it has been the indispensable equipment of the man destined to teach Christ to heathen countries. The missionary of our time assumes and frankly teaches that the Christianity of one nation must differ from the Christianity of another nation. There is a sacred inheritance, through which the Holy Spirit has spoken, and that inheritance must be respected not from any mere sense of tact and good manners, but from the awe-inspiring dread lest a man sent to teach the Truth be found to speak even against God in one of His self-revealing processes. Ancestor worship in China, for example, is no longer condemned;

but is purified and enlarged in the ancient Christian doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Forms of a people, either once religious or still religious, are filled with Christianity, not discarded. In other words, we in the expanding Church of today are doing consciously what was done, apparently unconsciously, in the expanding Church within the bounds of the crumbling Roman Empire.

Thus we see in the first thousand years of Christian history the signs of the guiding presence of the Holy Spirit. The Lord Christ who promised to be with His disciples to the end of the world was, through His Spirit, intimately living within the Church, as He was also living within the individual. The vicissitudes of the Church, its weakness and disappointment, are conspicuous in history. In the real life of the Church of the first millennium, we who know a single parish in our own time may be sure that the ordinary day was a day of which small record could be made. For it was a day in which, in spite of a good deal of failure and sin, there was many a conquest of temptation, many a courageous transcending of bitter circumstances, many a hard, fine deed, done in the Name of Christ, many a discovery of what it was to rest in the confidence of the Holy Spirit of God. It is the unwritten history which is always most important. It is the unrecorded sainthood which has been made in the Church of the ages which is the most eloquent proof of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the world. We know only a few of the vast army of saints who have marched in silent triumph through the Christian years. But they are nevertheless

"In God's still memory folded deep."

The Holy Spirit has made the Church holy, worthy to be called the Church of Jesus Christ. That the consciousness of the Source of life did not fade even in the later centuries of this period we know from the words ascribed to Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century:[1]

"Veni, Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia, quae tu creasti, pectora.

"Qui diceris Paraclitus, altissimi donum Dei,
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas, et spiritualis unctio.

"Tu septiformis munere, digitus paternae dexterae,
Tu rite promissum Patris sermone ditans guttura.

"Accende lumen sensibus, infunde amorem cordibus,
In firma nostri corporis virtute firmans perpeti.

"Hostem repellas longius, pacemque dones protinus;
Ductore sic te praevio, vitemus omne noxium.

"Per te sciamus da Patrem, noscamus atque Filium,
Teque utrius que Spiritum credamus omni tempore.

"Deo Patri sit gloria, et Filio qui a mortuis
Surrexit, ac Paraclito, in saeculorum saecula."[2]

[1] *Cf.* Dr. Frere, *Introduction to Hymns Ancient and Modern*, p. 22: "Till recently there was no certainty with regard to this most famous of hymns. It had been ascribed to various writers, including Charlemagne, on entirely insufficient grounds. It may now with some confidence be ascribed to Rabanus Maurus (856). It has been thought to be older, but in fact it has had no earlier attestation than the end of the ninth century: on independent grounds that date is the earliest one which it is possible to assign either for its incorporation into the series of Whitsuntide hymns, or for its adoption into any Pontifical for the ordination of a priest. Indeed the latter is probably of more recent origin."

[2] The translation in the Ordination services of the Book of Common Prayer was made by Bishop John Cosin in 1627, and first introduced in the English Prayer Book in 1662.

IX

SIX CENTURIES OF INCREASING FREEDOM

IN the seventeenth century a tradition was launched that in the year 1000 the people of Christendom so far expected the end of the world that they neglected their crops, churches fell into decay, and everything temporal was abhorred in view of the universal expectation of its immediate destruction.[1] Historians, taking up this fabrication, enlarged upon it, and explained that the era of church building which began in the eleventh century was due to the relief of humanity, when the alarm was over, to find itself still living on this pleasant earth: the stately churches built from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries were symbols of thanksgiving. We now know that there is no contemporary record of any expectation of an impending catastrophe in the year 1000;[2] if there was any such expectation it must have been confined to obscure people, like the Millerites in nineteenth-century America, whose hopes and fears found no chronicler. But it is certainly true that the eleventh century was the beginning of a remarkable era of

[1] The fact that this legend cannot be traced beyond the seventeenth century, is illustrated by the various editions of the Hirsaugian Chronicle, which was written at the end of the fifteenth century. No edition of this book said anything of this panic until the great edition of 1690. Here we read that a terrifying comet appeared in 1000 which made men expect the end of the world.

[2] *La Legende de l'an Mil*, Rosieres, Revue politique, 30 March 1878.

church building. And this building of churches may be taken as a parable of the new age. It is always perilous to generalize. To characterize an age by definite tendencies always leaves room for wide exceptions. Admitting this, one may find good reason for saying that the centuries following the year 1000 have been centuries when the Holy Spirit has been contending against the effort to make the temporal order too stable; against the effort to harden spiritual rites and ordinances into institutions pretending to a value and efficacy apart from the Holy Spirit, who might or might not dwell within them; and against the effort to magnify works at the expense of faith. Of several of these tendencies and the reaction against them I wish to speak in this chapter. Thus we shall see the further influence of the Holy Spirit upon human history.

I

It is recorded that Christ said in Samaria, "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. . . . The true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in truth."[1] Despite this warning, pilgrims began very early to make their way to the sacred sites of Palestine, not however without the protest of Augustine, who said that a voyage to the Holy Land was a useless task for men whose faith placed them in the immediate presence of their Lord; and even of Jerome, who crustily said that heaven was no more easily reached by way of Palestine than by way of Britain, — and then went on living in his cave at Bethlehem. Already imperial gifts had caused a church to be built over the supposed

[1] *St. John* iv, 21, 23.

site of the Holy Sepulchre; and the increasing bands of pilgrims came to feel that there was treasure laid up for them in heaven if they trod in the literal footsteps of the Saviour. The shirt a pilgrim wore when he entered Jerusalem was, if used as a winding-sheet, thought to carry its possessor straight to heavenly bliss. In the seventh century Mohammedans became lords of Jerusalem, but they exacted only a tax from the visitors; and when the year 1000 was reached the volume of pilgrims was greater than ever.

In the year 1076 Jerusalem opened its gates to Seljukian Turks, and henceforth Christians were subject to extortion, insult, sometimes massacre. The Christian churches were profaned, and patriarchs were cast into dungeons. The pilgrims who succeeded in returning to Europe told harrowing tales. Merchants who had profited by the great Eastern fair each year, no longer set sail from Genoa and other ports; they also mourned. The heart of the great Hildebrand, then Gregory VII, was stirred, but alone he could do nothing. It was the people who must be stirred, and this task fell to the lot of an insignificant person, Peter the Hermit, who went over Europe preaching the first crusade. The sad stories of returning pilgrims lost nothing in his picturesque telling, and when he had aroused the indignation of the people, Peter deftly insinuated that their darkest sins would be washed away by the waters of the Jordan. So it came to pass that Pope Urban gave his blessing to the enthusiastic crowds; and about the year 1100 the first crusade made its magnificent start — and its dreary failure.

Crusade followed Crusade. The object at first was to protect the pilgrims who wished to visit the Holy

Land. Then it was to acquire the whole region as Christian territory. There was, now and again, a hope of success. Great leaders like Richard, King of England, and St. Louis, King of France, gave themselves to the mission. Cities were taken, governments were inaugurated. But, judged by their ostensible purpose, the Crusades were a failure. In 1274, at the Council of Lyons, Gregory X tried in vain to start a new Crusade; the efficient desire to possess the Holy Land had passed. The Crusades were over, and by 1300 Palestine was in the undisturbed possession of the Saracens.

It is legitimate to find in the Crusades a number of significant results. Europe, from its provincialism, came again in contact with the East; and the Crusaders brought back traces of an older civilization. Chief laymen of the West were intimately associated, and the centralized ecclesiastical authority at Rome began to come under a scrutiny more searching and powerful than it had ever known. Commerce sprang up between the West and the East: cities that sent their ships afar began to be mighty. The Crusades also helped to prepare Europe for a vigorous reformation of the Church, by the opening of the lay mind to all these various influences. Most of all, they show the affectionate interest of the laity in our Lord's earthly life, and their loyalty to Him. But there is only one outcome of the Crusades which I wish here to declare; and that has to do with what men would ordinarily call their failure. The chief object in the minds of the thousands upon thousands of Crusaders was the recovery of the Holy Land by the Christians. For two hundred years the effort was made, and then Europe apparently decided that

the quest was not worth the sacrifice. For if Europe had really thought it important to recover Palestine, Palestine would have been won. Here I believe there spoke the same Spirit who spoke in the words, "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father." Whatever the Crusades accomplished, they did not accomplish what their earthly leaders intended or expected or hoped. The purpose of the seeming leaders was thwarted by the real Leader of humanity, the Spirit of God. Not even yet is the Holy Land in Christian care. Hardly a spot associated with the presence of the Lord Jesus can be identified. We seem even farther from possession of the sacred sites than the weary Crusaders who returned to Europe in the last years of the thirteenth century; for we have not their confidence that they can be found.

Why is this? What reason can be given but that our association with the Master of Life is intended to be universal, and therefore spiritual? Every little way-side cottage is the blessed home at Nazareth; the shop of every honourable workman is the carpenter-shop of Joseph; every friendly fireside is the home of Mary and Martha and Lazarus at Bethany; every grave is the Holy Sepulchre. It was not Palestine only to which Christ came, it was every inch of this sad and happy world. His feet seem to have touched it all. He came to identify His sympathy and His victory not with a narrow province of the Empire in the days of the Cæsars, but with the round world of all time. The privilege of walking in the literal footsteps of Jesus is denied the favourite few that even the humblest and most cramped may walk with Him in a world of which every particle is hallowed by His spirit-

ual and most real presence. The seeming failure of the Crusades is therefore one more triumph of the Lord Christ. Once again the Holy Spirit had taken of the things of Jesus and had shown them unto His disciples.

II

The influence of the Holy Spirit was markedly present in the Mysticism of the early centuries of the second millennium of Christian history; especially in the fourteenth century, which is sometimes called the Augustan Age of Mysticism. Mysticism is an inevitable reaction, in all ages of religious life which are characterized by the hardening of religion into a system of formulas and ceremonies; it speaks for the heart, and strives not only to commune directly with God, but, by ecstatic transfusion, to be identified with God. It may be the highest expression of religious aspiration; or it may be perilously near pantheism, and may even degenerate into gross license and sin. It had long been known in the East and in phases of Neoplatonism. It had been eminently shown in the pages of the unknown writer, probably an Alexandrian, who lived at some time between the fourth and sixth centuries[1] and called himself Dionysius the Areopagite. The groundwork of this man's theology was an absolute transcendence of God which he tried to connect with Pantheism by declaring God as absolute causality and as multiplying Himself through His indwelling love in all things. From the sixth century his writings, supposed by their name to be those of St. Paul's Athenian convert, had enormous

[1] Professor Harnack assigns his writing to the latter half of the fourth century, with a final recension about 500.

influence upon the development of theology. He may be called one of the great mystics, but not till we reach the middle ages do we find Mysticism at the height of its glory and power.

The tendency against which Mysticism was struggling in the centuries from the eleventh to the sixteenth was the predominance of the dialectical method, which finally crystallized, towards the end of the thirteenth century, in the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. Of the three parts of this book (I, God; II, Man; III, God-Man) Thomas was able to complete only the first and second, with the first ninety *questions* of the third. Another hand completed the book according to his plan. It is necessary here merely to say that with Thomas Aquinas faith was always belief in a proposition, not trust in a personal Being; revelation was a new knowledge rather than a new life. Scholasticism and other tendencies of the middle ages made God seem to be far away. If He had lived with men it was long ago. Mysticism brought back to men the assurance that through the Holy Spirit they could know God face to face.

So it was that in the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux wrote: "As the little water-drop poured into a large measure of wine seems to lose its own nature entirely and to take on both the taste and the colour of the wine; or as iron, heated red-hot, loses its own appearance and glows like fire; or as air, filled with sunlight, is transformed into the same brightness so that it does not so much appear to be illuminated as to be itself light — so must all human feeling towards the Holy One be self-dissolved in unspeakable wise, and wholly transfused into the will of God. For how shall God be all in all if anything of man

remains in man? The substance will indeed remain, but in another form, another glory, another power."[1]

After Bernard's time the reaction against formalism grew apace, because spiritually-minded men noted the increasing worldiness of the Church and the scandalous living of many of its officers. Every day good men longed for a theology of the heart, for unworldliness and simplicity of life. Joachim of Floris began to teach that there were three ages of the world, — the first, of the Father; the second, of the Son; the third, of the Holy Spirit. He announced definitely that the reign of the Spirit was to begin in 1260 when the evils of ecclesiasticism would be cured by a monastic life of contemplation. Then one, Amalric, arose to declare that as the Mosaic dispensation ended with Christ's coming, so the Sacraments had lost their meaning with the incarnation of God as Holy Spirit in the Amalricans. Because all human desires were identified with the impulses of the Holy Spirit, the sect of the New Spirit or of the Free Spirit was popular through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in France, Switzerland, and Germany; it was condemned by the Church; it became miserably immoral. Thus it ran its course.

Meantime, there were finer exponents of Mysticism, such as Eckhart. Tried for heresy, he protested that he was not a pantheist. His was a sort of scholastic mysticism, tinged with the active and the psychological. Facts fared ill at his hands, for he adapted everything to his end, which was to provide a devotional medium for present union with God. Then came the great Tauler, a Dominican monk, the most winning preacher of the middle ages. With

[1] *De diligendo Deo*, c. 10.

him Mysticism ceased to be passive: it was an aid whereby one could transcend the sad conditions of the time. And the first half of the fourteenth century, when Tauler was preaching, presented woefully sad conditions. Germany was ravaged by war, by famines, and by floods. In 1348 the Black Death swept over Europe. Religion was driven to the heart. The Mystics preached lively sermons, and crowds flocked to their preaching. They wrote short treatises in the mother tongue, in the strength of which a people, faint and weary, could go many days. Men longed to be closer to one another; so the society of *Gottesfreunde* spread through Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. These Friends of God tried to strengthen one another in living intercourse with the Spirit of God. They cut off the pantheistic excrescences which sometimes attached to Mysticism, and became practical. Tauler was a Friend of God; and great preacher as he was, he was an even greater pastor. Another Friend of God was the author of the book which Luther put next to the Bible and St. Augustine, the *Theologia Germanica.* Still another was Ruysbroeck, who towards the end of the fourteenth century dwelt on the means of union with God, and out of whose teaching sprang a brotherhood limited by no monastic vows, but with simplicity and piety sharing things in common. This brotherhood was called the Brethren of the Common Life, among whom was numbered at length Thomas à Kempis.

How practical Mysticism had become in this, its golden age, one feels at once upon reading the *Theologia Germanica.* "Now be assured," says the author, "that no one can be enlightened unless he be first cleansed and purified and stripped. So also, no one

can be united with God unless he be first enlightened. Thus there are three stages: first, the purification; secondly, the enlightening; thirdly, the union."[1] There was no doubt that a man who would speak with God must have clean hands and a pure heart. And he also insisted that love is essential to this communion. "Here is an honest question," he wrote; "namely, it hath been said that he who knoweth God and loveth Him not, will never be saved by His knowledge; the which sounds as if we might know God and not love Him. . . . True Love is guided by the true Light and Reason, and this true, eternal, and divine light teacheth Love to love nothing but the One True and Perfect Good, and that simply for its own sake, and not for the sake of a reward, or in the hope of obtaining anything, but simply for the Love of Goodness. . . . Now that Perfect Good, which we call God, cannot be perceived but by the True Light; therefore He must be loved wherever He is seen or made known."[2]

The words of the Mystics which have come down to us give us the glowing certainty that their authors did have the consciousness that the Spirit of God spoke to them. Thus in his Prayer of Quiet, Thomas à Kempis said, "Let not Moses speak to me nor any of the prophets, but rather thou, O Lord my God, who dost inspire and enlighten the prophets; for thou alone, without them, canst teach me perfectly, and they without thee can do nothing at all." To such a man we say that God ceases to be an object and becomes an experience. The union with God was ecstatic, an absorption in the divine contemplation.

The risk within Mysticism is close to the surface.

[1] *Op. cit.*, c. xiv. [2] *Op. cit.*, c. xlii.

Though, by its escape from stereotyped formulas, it made way for the final break with the mechanical traditional system, it also at times escaped into a wild riot of phrases and of living. Luther, through the *Theologia Germanica*, was the inheritor of its free spirit, but when he saw Mysticism showing its over-ripe fruits in Münzer and the Zwickau prophets, he did his best to check what he thought its dangerous disintegrating qualities. But all this only warns us that the highest opportunities always lie closest to the most disastrous fall. When we remember that two of the greatest books of the Christian world, the *Theologia Germanica* and the *De Imitatione Christi*, are the result of the Mysticism of the middle ages we cannot fail to believe that this Mysticism was a means which the Holy Spirit employed to draw men to Himself. When forms grew hard, when mind and heart were separated, when conditions were cruel, then men felt once more that God cared. He was not far away in some distant heaven; He was not far away in some remote age in history; He was, through His Holy Spirit, with them at the very moment. They looked forward to the experience in this life by which they should realize the ecstatic union with the Spirit of God. It seems like a fresh baptism of the Holy Spirit.

III

In the centuries of which we are now thinking, architecture and other forms of art played an important part in the revelation of the Holy Spirit. As we grow to understand that there is no secular in life, that all life belongs to God, so we must look for the manifestation of God's Holy Spirit in that which

is not commonly associated with religion. It is not possible to give complete witness to this fact, but a few suggestions will indicate its truth.

(1) Gothic architecture had its birth and its distinctive development in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Professor Moore has defined Gothic architecture as "a system of construction in which vaulting on an independent system of ribs is sustained by piers and buttresses whose equilibrium is maintained by the opposing action of thrust and counterthrust."[1] Though "the product of secular craftsmen working under the stimulus of rational and municipal aspiration," it is certainly also the product of religious faith. It was a new method of construction, and while the structural principle was never sacrificed, the artistic principle was never forgotten; the two principles always went hand in hand, artistic harmony and mechanical efficiency. The need in these lofty churches was to support the vaulted stone roofs (made necessary to avoid fire) without merely massing masonry. By a series of experiments, which can be only partly discovered in the structure of surviving buildings, the walls were made thinner, and flying buttresses were made to do work which architects in a former age would have said could be done only by excessively thick walls. By these slender and graceful supports the inert principle was abandoned, and the maximum of internal space, both for air and light, was gained. They are so strong, moreover, that flying buttresses of seven hundred years ago are still supporting heavy, groined roofs, and, barring accidents, are likely to support them for centuries to come.

[1] *Gothic Architecture*, p. 30.

This then is the first note of the influence of the Spirit upon architecture, and it cannot be overestimated; mass is supported by something superior to mass. The flying buttress is force, but not mere force; it is force fused with the spiritual element.

To some architects the flying buttress seems ugly, a mere engineering feat, awkward scaffolding made permanent; and, though I believe most critics would not think them anything less than graceful, it is quite evident that to their builders they were not an ornament, but merely a necessary device to make the inside of the church beautiful. Long before Gothic architecture was born Christian Churches had been, as one can still see in the city of Rome, bare on the outside, and contrastingly rich within. This was quite the reverse of pagan temples. And here too we see another note of the spiritual in architecture. This principle was part of the theory of Gothic builders. Though we find the exteriors of the great Gothic cathedrals beautiful, we can see that where sacrifice was necessary, the outside was ruthlessly sacrificed for the space within. The lightness of the interior, the height, the seeming impossibility that slender shafts could support the lofty vaults of the roof, the wide open spaces for glass with its glory of colour, all lifted the soul to the sense of the spiritual. The flying buttresses were not made light that there might be a maze of stone, like lace, thrown about the huge structure, but they were thus attenuated, and upon the outstanding buttress stood the strengthening pinnacle, merely that the aisles within might cast their mysterious shadows, and that the clerestory windows might catch all the sunlight. It is doubtful if even the carving on the western façades was at first

for adornment. "The modern romantic," says an unknown writer, "shuts his eyes to what he hates. The Gothic artist made fun of it. If he disliked rich Philistines after the manner of artists in all ages, he carved them tormented by devils in his Last Judgment. Nowadays the peculiar Gothic ferocity is confined to the comic papers; but in the thirteenth century, the Jean Vebers and Forains of the time carved their lampoons on the west front of a cathedral. Inside it there was room for the vastest dreams of the idealist; outside for the invective of the man who hated and was not afraid."[1]

There is one other note of the spiritual in the Gothic. It tended more and more not to confine the beauty of the interior to the sanctuary and the choir, or that part of the church especially appropriated by the clergy, but spread it through the whole structure. The marvellous Gothic ornamentation, which is an art in itself, made the nave and the aisles a joyful place: the beauty of holiness was for the laity as well as for the clergy. The Holy Spirit was seen to be for every man. The iconoclasts of the Reformation were to break down the images in altar screens and to make the people look to a pulpit in the nave rather than to an altar in the eastern apse, but architects had long before taught by a positive lesson in stone that the Spirit of God is not confined to one part of a church, but is equally present in all parts of it by the perfection of colour and form which His love has created through men for every worshipper to look upon.

(2) Painting in the years before and after Raphael

[1] Anonymous article on *French Cathedrals*, London Times, August 16, 1912.

brought a compelling message from the Holy Spirit. One sees in any great gallery why the Crusades lost their appeal. It would have been easy, I suppose, for Raphael to have some Jewish mother, with her baby, pose for his Madonnas. I suppose he could have sailed to Palestine and could have painted a Judæan background. But he preferred to paint the face of an Italian maiden and the helpless form of an Italian baby; and back of both was the country which he knew best, his own Italy. So Rembrandt painted the child Jesus and His mother in a little Dutch kitchen, the light from the fire of a Dutch hearth shining up into their faces, and the last rays of the evening sun coming through a Dutch window. And Dürer in his turn found the infant Messiah in a little German child, and it was a German mother that crooned over Him. The strange fact is that no one complained of a lack of literalism. All races learned through painting that the Lord Jesus was not a man of one race, but of all races, not a man, but man, even the Son of all Mankind as He was the Son of God.

Another spiritual lesson taught by painting was the preservation of the sacramental character of the Lord's Supper at a time when a formalized ecclesiasticism had hardened the spiritual feast into a physical sacrifice, and was making ready to declare more stiffly the doctrine of transubstantiation.[1] This the painters did quietly by painting in all its simplicity

[1] Transubstantiation was formally declared a doctrine of the Church at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The Council of Trent (Session xiii, Can. 2) decreed, "The whole substance of the bread is changed into the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine into His blood, the species alone remaining."

and pathos the Last Supper of our Lord. Da Vinci's was only the most notable of a large number of "Last Suppers." No one could look upon these pictures without recognizing that the Church had far removed itself, in its elaborate and artificial ceremonial, from the bold reality of the first Holy Week. No one can fully estimate the effect of these pictures upon the spiritualizing of the Lord's Sacrament which was to come through the culmination of the Reformation.

This vivid showing of the contrast between the simplicity of Christ and the ornate splendour of the Mediæval Church was to be used by Luther with amazing effect. When Luther went to Worms he left with Melanchthon what he said would be "a good book for the laity." This was a series of illustrations by Cranach, contrasting the Pope in his tiara with our Lord in His crown of thorns; the Pope on his magnificent throne, with Christ beaten and mocked; the Pope holding out his sacred toe to be kissed, with Christ kneeling to wash His disciples' feet; the Pope borne in state on men's shoulders, with Christ bearing His cross; the Pope selling dispensations, with Christ driving out the money-changers; and so on. Dürer helped Luther in a higher way, and may be called the great painter of the Reformation. But the consummate work of spiritualizing events which the officials of the Church had allowed to grow external and rigid had already been accomplished by greater artists than Dürer, and far greater than Cranach.

(3) Painting achieved its highest revelation of the spiritual in the interpretation of character and life in the human face. Some of the faces are of unknown people on crowded canvases, as the faces of Peter and John in the lower detail of Raphael's *Transfiguration;*

but once seen they never can be forgotten. Then there are Giotto's *Dante*, Da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, Giorgione's *Knight of Malta*, Raphael's *Leo X* and *Baldassare Castiglione*, Giovanni Bellini's *Doge Leonardo Loredano*, Titian's *Man with a Glove*, Dürer's *Holzschuher* and *Hans Imhof the Elder*, Palma Vecchio's *Violante*, Holbein's *Erasmus*, and very many others almost as great, — all within this period. It is the depth of the mystery of life which one reads in these portraits which gives one the assurance that man is not of the earth earthy. The painter watched the face before him day after day, and has caught upon its smiles and frowns and sudden glances the story of a human spirit; goodness and badness, and infinite possibilities in both directions, are all there. The bitterness and gladness of experience speak to you out of the eyes. In the very greatest of the portraits of this period the face seems to fade and only the soul remains. It is the image of the Holy Spirit brooding over life.

This same revelation is made also through sculpture. Donatello's and Della Robbia's children are the spirit of childhood. Both their faces and their eager bodies speak of the Spirit of the Lord who lives in them and makes them glad. Sculpture teaches profounder lessons still in Michelangelo. By his knowledge of anatomy he was enabled to bring into the human form a dignity and a power that even the Greeks did not equal. The unreality of recurring waves of asceticism which announced that the body was evil and unspiritual had its rebuke in Michelangelo's *David*. All who looked knew that the body is redeemed as well as the soul and that it is a fit temple for the Holy Ghost.

So architecture and painting and sculpture in this period showed forth spiritual lessons which no power

less than the Holy Spirit could have inspired them to teach. They taught the holiness of the individual life out of the conglomerate mass of humanity.

IV

In Mysticism the Holy Spirit appealed to the age through the heart; in architecture and painting, through the eye. We must now ask in what way the Holy Spirit appealed to the human mind. In general we may say that it was through the New Learning, by which human knowledge was enormously enlarged, and what had been the exclusive possession of the clergy tended to become the possession of all men. Scholasticism looked upon everything with ecclesiastical eyes: knowledge was systematized according to formal intellectual rules, with scant respect for the heart and its immediate and intuitive experiences. The New Learning was as a breath from heaven, fresh, invigorating, inspiring. It did not wholly emancipate the human mind: at the end of the sixteenth century men were still timid in the presence of what they thought witchcraft; and so keen a scholar as Melanchthon was careful to study the signs taught by astrology. But, through the New Learning, the Holy Spirit did speak, in the might of freedom and truth, guiding the Church and the individual Christian to more fertile pastures.

There were, during this period, more than thirty universities scattered over Europe. The greater universities were in close relation to one another: a distinguished teacher in one was apt to draw crowds of students from other seats of learning. Moreover, if one of these teachers wrote important books they

were quickly copied and sent abroad; when printing was invented, the process was intensified. Thus Wyclif's books were read in Bohemia as generally as in England; and John Huss took up Wyclif's work, and carried it forward. Oxford and Prague exchanged students, and the people in cottages were hearing news of what went on in college halls. Later, when the zeal for knowledge blossomed in the Florentine revival, students from Florence carried the movement to Oxford, whither at length came a poor student from the University of Paris, Erasmus, to learn Greek and to become the intimate of Colet and Thomas More. When Luther began to teach in the youngest of European universities, at Wittenberg, he was able to speak to all the universities of the civilized world. The Oxford scholars were pleading for a freedom from Augustinian doctrines, and Luther was trying to make them firmer, but all were pleading that religion must be from the heart. Thus the very method of the New Learning was such as to unite thinking men that they might manifest the unity of the Spirit.

The strange ways in which God fulfils His purposes is illustrated by one effect of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Until this time the Western Church had been dominated by the more empirical philosophy of Aristotle, popularized by the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas. With the capture of Constantinople Greek scholars were driven to Italy, and there, especially in Florence, they began to teach Plato, whose philosophy is idealistic, and therefore more nearly spiritual. Around these scholars grew up what were called the Humanists, who rescued from oblivion the works of the classical Greek and Latin authors, thereby dealing a blow to the shabby ecclesiastical

Latin which was the medium of Scholasticism; for, by contrast with the elegant classical idioms, the monkish Latin lost its sanctity. Besides, these Humanists began to comment frankly on the superiority of Plato's ethics over the profligate manners of the papal palace; accordingly, Christianity was forced by the test of the spiritual to revive or die.

The great gift of the New Learning was the New Testament in the original Greek. One of the reforms of Savonarola was the rule that the monks must study the Bible in the original languages. Savonarola also exerted an influence on secular scholars, for while the contrast between Plato and the papal court was making them ask whether Christianity were true, Savonarola's obvious relationship with a present and living Spirit won many of them to a devout discipleship, notably Pico della Mirandola, perhaps the most precocious linguist and genius of the period. With Savonarola's tragic death the cherishing of the Greek New Testament passed from Florence to Oxford and Cambridge. It was while he was a professor at Cambridge (1516) that Erasmus published, with the aid of his friend Colet, his edition of the New Testament, having the original Greek side by side with a new Latin translation of his own. Thus every ordinary scholar could come for himself to a picture of the age of Christ in all its pristine colouring. Erasmus was not thinking only of scholars, for he wrote in the preface to his book: "I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles; and I wish that they were translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens. I long that the husbandman

should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, and the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."[1]

This wish was to be quickly fulfilled. While the monks were explaining that the Latin Vulgate Version was sacrosanct, and that Greek was an heretical language and therefore "unsafe," men by thousands were studying the Greek Testament of Erasmus, and were discovering, to quote Froude, that "the words had a real sense, and were not mere sounds like the dronings of a barrel-organ."[2] Then came the translations into the languages of the people. To the brave Tyndale, stirred by Erasmus's work, fell the honour of giving England the first printed translation of the New Testament in English: even Thomas More was among his persecutors because of this heroic venture; but, in 1536, this English translation, revised and completed by Coverdale, was placed in the churches, and the clergy were commanded to exhort the laity to read it. Luther, a prisoner in the Wartburg, gave himself up to the task of translating the Bible into German, — an achievement which no other German has ever equalled: in 1535 it was published under the privilege of the great Elector, and straightway every man in Germany could judge for himself the Word of God. Calvin, under the name of Olivetan, in this same year (1535) brought out the Bible in French. How far these translations of the Scriptures went home to the hearts of the people is seen to this very day, for the fixed classical style of all English, German, and French countries is the style of the versions of Holy Scripture

[1] *Op. cit.*, Paraclesis, pp. 6 f.: ed. 1523.
[2] *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, p. 119.

made in the sixteenth century.[1] Through the words of the Bible in their own tongues, the people were hearing the Voice of the Holy Spirit speak with an authority which they could not mistake. Not by any hard theory of inspiration did they know this, but by the instinctive response of their hearts.

A natural corollary of this enthusiasm for the New Testament was the vital interest in the primitive age of Christianity which ensued. Luther scattered far and wide Cranach's pictures contrasting the official Christianity of the first and the sixteenth centuries. Cranmer and others in England were trying, in the reformation of the Church of England, to cut away the excrescences of the middle ages and to restore the simplicity of the Early Church: "Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors," not Thomas Aquinas and the Papal Court, were the ground of their appeal. Calvin too was striving to reproduce a New Testament Church. This appeal to the primitive age is significant in that, while some of the excited souls, influenced by the revolt from mediæval ecclesiasticism, were thinking to find in their own individual insight the whole authority for God's command, the leaders, and the vast majority of those who followed them, were intent upon making the Voice of the Holy Spirit which they heard in their hearts agree completely with the record which they found in the New Testament and in the earliest period of the Church. They did not intend to repeat the mistake of the Corinthian Christians whom St. Paul was obliged to rebuke. But the last word of the New Learning was that an intelligent and rational man

[1] Though the King James English Version was not put forth till 1611, it is founded upon the version of William Tyndale, with the revisions and additions of the sixteenth century.

could expect to hear the Voice of the Holy Spirit in his own heart.

V

A conspicuous witness to the guiding of the Holy Spirit in these six centuries is the opening of the eyes and imaginations of men to the beauty and extent of the physical universe. There were certain discoveries following upon the invention of the mariner's compass; but there was, besides, a new appreciation of the common things of nature, upon which men had been looking all through the years. Some of this appreciation was a recovery after the lapse of the dark ages, with their ascetic and monastic ideals; some of it was quite new. Monks had gone over the Alps with no wish to lift their eyes from the neck of the beast that carried them; they had lived on sunny hillsides with no other thought than that these hillsides were good for grapes. They had sung of a New Jerusalem, and their hearts fainted to be done with what they saw, or failed to see, in this present world. And to think of love and womanhood was to lay oneself open to sin, unless one were to pray to the beautiful Virgin Mother of our Lord. To generalize, one must say again and again, is dangerous; but it seems that the truly religious part of the world had, in the dark ages, ceased to value the physical in life.

Now in these six centuries we see the Holy Spirit gradually freeing men from this vicious dualism. It is almost as if God had restored man to the Garden of Eden: "And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good;" His children looked about them with wondering eyes, and at last they understood,— the natural world was good.

When the spell of the Latin tongue was broken, when men dared to write in their own native provincial languages, then the ideals of the monks faded into the ideals of normal men and women. The poets began to sing, and their song was of love. Woman, who through asceticism had been looked on as "the door of hell,"[1] became the ideal of knights as well as of poets. Woman received reverence, and man tried to make himself noble and true that he might be worthy of a woman's love. This spiritualizing of man's love for woman reached its height in Florence in Dante. "It presents to us the ideal woman," writes Bishop Boyd Carpenter: "but its origin is the influence of some dear, pure, gentle creature whose presence and smile awoke to consciousness the slumbering powers of the heart. . . . The likeness is idealized, but it is not a fiction; there is flesh and blood behind it. . . . Thus love which began with a vision of simple girlish beauty could grow into a noble worship of something greater and fairer than earth could claim."[2] Beatrice stands for more than the inspiration of Dante: she is the vision of womanhood discovered by an awakening world. Romantic love was sanctified by the Holy Spirit of God. In the Florentine poets, in Dante preëminently, we see religion at its finest disowning the pagan and the monastic separation between earthly love and heavenly; Beatrice was not the recovery of an ideal which the world had known before. She was a discovery.

In Dante we notice also the sharp observation of the natural world in all its departments. Thus he is an illustration of the recovery of joy in the birds of the

[1] Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 338.
[2] *The Spiritual Message of Dante*, pp. 52 f.

air, in the insects, in the fluttering leaves, in the dashing waves, in the frost, in the fire. Mountains and valleys affected him. Though he was interested in the theology of the Schoolmen, he saw it in a picturesque natural setting. In him, and in men like him, there was a revival of the appreciation of natural beauty. This appreciation was not confined to poets. Preachers caught it: St. Francis preached to the birds; St. Anthony preached to the fishes. Painters caught it: in the backgrounds of sacred pictures the exquisite scenes tell what artists saw in nature, and one of Raphael's most beautiful pictures is well named the Madonna of the Goldfinch. The builders of the vast Gothic cathedrals caught it: the teeming life of forest and field was translated into architectural stone. Leaves and buds, says an authority, "spring from growing stems, fruits depend naturally from their branches, animals live and leap. . . . More life and abstract natural beauty it is hardly conceivable that human art could express." [1] Here too the architects did not repeat or recover the past. They made a new discovery of the beauty of nature; for the classic architects and their imitators treated natural objects inorganically, with fruits and flowers tied in bunches or hung in formal festoons: these natural objects were never growing. The Gothic carvers showed a new interest in the natural world, and therefore were of the increasing company of poets and painters and preachers who saw in Nature an outward manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

A yet more astonishing revelation of the unexpected in the physical surroundings of men came within the years from 1492, when Columbus discovered America,

[1] C. H. Moore, *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*, p. 24.

to 1522, when Magellan completed his voyage around the world. Thus men's ideas of the earth were suddenly, startlingly enlarged; and, because the sailors rounding the Cape of Good Hope had seen the south pole-star and the Southern Cross, men's ideas of the universe were also changed. There was a great man named Copernicus, a loyal Churchman, an eager astronomer, who published as he was dying, in 1543, a book on which he had been working for thirty-six years, and which he had hitherto feared to publish lest the truth which he announced in it be branded by the Church as heresy. Though men had been forced to believe that the earth which but yesterday seemed small and flat, was really large and round, they still believed it the centre of the universe, remaining stationary, while the heavenly bodies revolved about it. Copernicus timidly announced the hypothesis that the sun is the centre of the solar system, the moon a satellite of the earth, and the fixed stars infinitely far away. A long time was to pass before this hypothesis was to be accepted. Even when in the seventeenth century Galileo, by means of his refracting telescope, had confirmed it, the Roman Inquisition, with Pope Urban's approval, condemned Galileo to adjure by oath on his knees this astronomical heresy. The great scientific age was postponed. But with the opening of the globe to sailors and colonists, and with the opening of the skies to astronomers, there was already a vigorous tearing away of the old limits of the imagination. Every ambitious nation sent its adventurers and discoverers into the new world. The future began to seem more important than the past. The old books could not teach all that the universe contained. It was the age of bewildering discovery.

If men could not go over the sea in ships, if they could not intelligently gaze at the sky, yet they learned to wait for news from their own generation about the things of God in this present world. Once more, the Holy Spirit was teaching men that they must through a present experience enter into the knowledge of the truth. Scholars and the simple were alike in their New Testaments reading of Christ, "All things were made through Him; and without Him was not anything made."[1] And now in the brilliant discoveries and adventures in land and sea and sky, the Holy Ghost was taking of the things of the Son and was showing them unto His friends. There was a long path yet to be trod before the scientific revelations of our time were to be attained; but the bands which held the imagination captive had been snapped. The reverent and thoughtful observers of the sixteenth century were watching for news of the Spirit in God's physical universe.

VI

There has been a struggle through many years of Christian history to fix the authority by which the Holy Spirit speaks to men in an institution or in outward office. During this period which we are now studying, it became evident that it was futile to expect the authority of the Holy Spirit in General Councils (so far as they could be made general) or in the Papacy.

(1) The General Council stands for an inspiring ideal. This ideal is that men honestly representing the whole body of Christian people should come together with the devout purpose of learning what the

[1] *St. John* i, 3.

Holy Spirit should say to the whole assembly. This ideal was never quite realized, even during the five or six early Councils. The faithful bishops were not always called from all sections of the Church; and when some were called, they could not always come. After the Emperor ceased to convene the bishops, and the Bishop of Rome maintained the convening as his right, the representation was still further limited. But this was not the most damaging feature of the Councils. The worst that can be said of them is that, less and less, did men come together to listen humbly for the directing Voice of the Holy Ghost; more and more a majority came with their minds firmly and fiercely made up what they would do.

The part of the Church in union with the Bishop of Rome became constantly smaller. After the separation of East and West, the Protestant Reformation split the Western Church in two. In 1545 the Council of Trent began its sessions, gathering what was left of the Church still obedient to Rome. A few open-minded bishops urged a recognition of the great truth of the doctrine of justification by faith as reaffirmed by the reformers, but the Jesuits had quickly become mighty under Loyola's iron rule. To Loyola, not to the Holy Spirit, these Jesuits looked, and their contention was so far from spiritual that they literally fought, one snatching at another's beard. When the Pope and the Emperor disagreed the Council adjourned, and not until 1555 could it again assemble. Meantime, by the Peace of Augsburg, the right of Protestant princes to revolt from Rome was recognized; so that the last hope of regaining Protestants through spiritual means, as by a Council, had melted away. The Jesuits were now firmly in the saddle. They used the

Council to say what they had decided it should say. All thought of the Holy Spirit had quite vanished. They sternly corrected moral abuses, but in doctrine they were reactionary; and by confirming the authority of the Pope as divine, they virtually declared that the function of Councils was past: the Voice of the Spirit was to be heard through the Pope.[1]

There may again be real Councils of the Christian Church. Representatives of the whole body of Christians may assemble in love and hope and humility to hear what the Holy Spirit will say to their united prayer; but it is safe to say, the friends of Councils being witness, that the Holy Spirit did not seem to use the Councils of these centuries as a means of giving His message to men. It may further be said that whatever breath was left in the Councils was stifled by the Jesuits in the Council of Trent. Or, to change the figure, so far as Councils were concerned, the Jesuits locked the door and threw away the key; and not even the Holy Spirit could come in.

(2) The breaking down of the authority of the papacy was as gradual as its original growth. The Pope of Rome never had an easy relationship with the Eastern Church. Misunderstandings between the Greek and the Latin Churches had been incessant. The addition of *Filioque* to the Creed, clerical celibacy, the denial of the Presbyters' right to confirm, the use of unleavened bread in the Sacrament, all made the Roman Church seem heretical to the Greek Church. Since the eleventh century the schism between the two Churches has been cordially maintained. With a large part of the Christian world alienated from him,

[1] This was still further confirmed by the Vatican Council of 1870, which pronounced the Pope's *ex cathedra* utterances infallible.

the Pope was soon to forfeit the respect of the more intelligent and aggressive part of Europe which remained in communion with him. It was the Popes themselves who renounced the spiritual character of their office. Coveting political power and wealth, they passed from worldliness to wickedness. Alexander VI was the most notorious of the wicked Popes; but, two hundred years before, that most loyal Churchman, Dante, had recorded that the avarice of the Popes had o'ercast the world with mourning, treading the good underfoot and raising up the bad, they themselves being filthy.[1] Alexander, with his lust and murders, was only the culmination of a tendency in the papacy. Many a good Italian became a pagan, because he identified the papacy with Christianity. And when men from distant places came to Rome, they too were scandalized: such was the experience of Colet, Erasmus, and Luther.

Having appealed to the sword, the papacy was judged by the sword. It had once been in exile at Avignon; and in 1527, while Luther was defying it, the supposedly loyal Emperor, Charles V, was sacking the city of Rome. His soldiers turned St. Peter's into a stable, and the Pope was made a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, obliged to do exactly what his imperial master told him to do. The year before, the Emperor had issued an edict at the Diet of Spires leaving the German states free to elect whether they would acknowledge the Pope's jurisdiction or not. From this time there never has been a Pope in Rome in the mediæval sense. The old officer who maintained his right to rule Christendom had passed for ever. The official who took his place was destined to be the head

[1] *Inferno*, Canto xix, 104 ff.

of a communion within Christendom, and his authority was limited to those who freely chose to accept it.

Even so, in this weakened state, the Pope refused to be an officer of the Holy Spirit. Strengthened by the Council of Trent, Paul IV introduced into Rome the Inquisition, with its well-known history in Spain; from Rome, with papal sanction, it spread to other countries. The Pope confessedly gave up the effort to persuade by spiritual means; means more cruel than the sword were resorted to. But it was only a small part of Christendom in which, for a time, such methods were to be tolerated. Judged by the outward and the inward verdict, no sane and unprejudiced man at the end of the sixteenth century could believe that, whatever else it might be, the papacy was a medium for the light of the Holy Ghost.

VII

There were two other sources of authority which were being tested in these centuries: one was the authority of the clergy as a separate caste distinct from the laity; the other was the divine right of kings.

(1) The young Luther was haunted by an altar-piece in Magdeburg, which represented a ship sailing to heaven. The terrifying memory of this picture to a young man expecting to be a lawyer was that not a single layman was on board the ship. There were plagues devastating towns in those days, and the fear of the Turks was always present: a picture like that made the youth think. There was the feeling that the clergy had a larger share of the Holy Spirit than other men; or perhaps they were exclusive possessors

of the Spirit, and others could have only what the clergy chose to give.

The right of the clergy to claim for themselves any monopoly of spiritual power, broke down in much the same way that the spiritual power of the papacy broke down. Even with the vow of poverty the religious orders could not remain poor. By gifts and bequests the conscience-stricken laity tried to make up for their sins by endowing monasteries and convents. At last it is said that a third of the land of Europe came into possession of the clergy. Kings were not so rich as they. The clergy, being practically the only educated men in Europe, became the statesmen of Europe. Thus try, as the good men among them would, to be simple and poor, the clergy became haughty, powerful, rich. The Thomas Beckets and the Wolseys were quite the temporal and worldly equals of kings.

One result of this condition was that the people who were oppressed by the temporal lords grew to hate the clergy. Not only did the clergy have a large share of the land, but the people were required to pay tithes to them. And besides these, there were the fees for almost every ministration. The man who should have been a good shepherd comforting his flock was often only a thief and a robber, lording it over God's heritage. "I see," wrote a contemporary of Charles V, "that from the majority of Christ's ministers we can obtain nothing without money. At baptism, money! at confirmation, money! at marriage, money! for holy orders, money! at confession, money! at the sacrament, money. They will not give extreme unction, unless for money! they will not toll the bells, except for money! they will not bury you within the church except for money! you shall not hear mass during

interdict, except for money! so that Paradise appears be closed to those who have no money."[1] It is said that in England if a housewife did not faithfully give to the priest every tenth egg, she was deprived of her Easter communion and taken as a heretic.

But there was worse to tell. The forced celibacy of the clergy, condemned by the Greek Church, brought the Western clergy into constant peril. Had there been no worldly temptation to enter the ministry, there might have been more deacons like St. Francis; but with wealth and power glittering before them, with an assured living guaranteed in a hard age, with safety and privileges, many men became priests for less than the right motives. We cannot wonder at the scandals which the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation unearthed. There were certainly in the ranks of the sacred ministry, in parish churches and in monastic cells, true saints, through whose faces the Spirit of God shone. But these saints had not become the characteristic priests of formal ordinations. The clergy as clergy had obviously no inherent authority necessarily attaching to their office to make them the medium of the Holy Spirit. They might or they might not have this high authority. It certainly did not depend upon their office, but upon a profounder endowment, which I shall presently examine.

(2) Then there were emperors, kings, princes, nobles, who set themselves up to be different from ordinary men. Throughout this period the peasants had been climbing up and out of their serfdom. The feudal system of the middle ages made the dependants of a great landowner little better than slaves. Not even

[1] *Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés* (Wiffen), p. 68.

the wild game of the forest or the fish in the rivers belonged to any but the lord of the castle. These peasants worked hard, but nearly all they produced must go to the master of the land. For him they must fight at his call. In some countries conditions grew better: money was paid for the land instead of crops; a good many people went to the cities, and these cities sometimes became strong enough to demand a degree of independence. But conditions were hard enough for the peasants at the very best, and it was only a beginning that this period was to see in the gaining of their rights, in establishing them as true children of our Father, brethren of the King of Kings and therefore the moral equals of earthly princes.

The idea of a universal dominion was used by the Holy Spirit when Rome in the first century was permitted to unify the world, that the news of Christ might quickly spread to the ends of the known world. Long afterwards the Pope and the Emperor of Germany, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, trying to perpetuate this idea of universal dominion, met the invincible opposition of the Holy Spirit. The hour of universal dominion had struck. Nations were being born. There were kings of these nations who tried in their way to be absolute; but the nations with that sort of kings were dying; Spain for instance. A new kind of king was coming in, the constitutional ruler, who though called a king was sharing the government with all classes of his subjects. The Pope's sway over Christendom was ended when Luther, a peasant, stood in the Diet of Worms and defied the papacy, and when the Emperor, who had heard Luther's defiance and had tried to annihilate him, had put a

Pope in prison. The Emperor's sway over Christendom ended when this same Charles gave up his task of putting down what he called heresy, and shut himself up in a cloister. And, though we still have the shreds of absolute monarchy with us, the knell for absolutism in the nation was sounded when Philip sent his huge Armada to crush the rising democracy of England, and when God blew this fleet to bits with the courage of Englishmen, with the winds of His heaven and the waves of His sea.

This was towards the end of the sixteenth century; now, at the beginning of the twentieth, we have still much to do, before the Voice of the Holy Spirit is obeyed; but His Voice was then clear. Erasmus in his *Christian Prince* argued that governments exist for the well-being of the whole people, so that the necessaries of the lower classes should not be taxed, only the luxuries of the upper classes; so that no war be fought except one in which the good of the whole people was involved. How far Erasmus felt his own time was from these ideals, we see in his bitter arraignment: "Ecclesiastical hypocrites reign in the courts of princes. . . . The Pope and the Princes treat the people as cattle in the market." More's *Utopia*, in its picture of a model state, held up the same ideals. Kings, magistrates, and priests held office by the will of the people. Every one had right to an education and a share of the national wealth. On a higher plane, Luther, in his pamphlet *To the Nobility of the German Nation*, controverted the theory that the spiritual power is above the secular, for, he said, all Christians are spiritual, and all are equal. That the reformers gave the people religious services in their own languages and not in a

language understood only by scholars, that they put before them the Bible in their every-day speech, and that they encouraged each man to come not to a priest but to God for confession of his sins, — all this brought home to men of all classes the reality of the dignity and responsibility of any Christian man. These ideals were ignored by many of the reformers themselves. Luther, for example, showed himself violently unsympathetic with the poor peasants contending for their rights; and Calvin was a tyrant in his Genevan theocracy, putting Servetus to death for an intellectual error in doctrine. And we too are prone to be both selfish and bigoted. But in its best moments the sixteenth century knew as well as our own time that every man, be he prince or slave, saint or sinner, sage or untaught, orthodox or heretical, is infinitely precious in the love of the Holy Spirit.

VIII

It is then in the individual man, — not as pope or priest or emperor or king, but as man, — that the Holy Spirit was known in this period to put His ultimate authority. That is the increasingly plain story of these six hundred years. And we see it now most clearly by the way in which individual men stood forth to be the guides of the race in their time, and in the larger time which reaches to our own day. By singling out two or three outstanding examples, we may see in what ways the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was being confirmed and enriched.

(1) As the thirteenth century was opening there was a gay young Italian who was known chiefly for his ostentatious prodigality, his kindness, and his

skill in arms. In all this worldliness he was twice smitten with a serious illness. After the second illness he decided to give up his old life and, with as much literalism as possible, to follow Christ. This, to him, meant absolute poverty and never refusing alms to a beggar. He went to Rome to register his vow, and upon his return to his home at Assisi, he exchanged clothes with a miserable beggar. He tried to give away everything he had. His father's anger and command had no weight with him. His father imprisoned him, brought him to the civil authority, then to the bishop. The young man with confidence set aside all these aspects of authority, — parental, civic, ecclesiastical, — and yielded himself to an authority that spoke in his heart. He straightway abandoned everything, even the clothes on his back: "Till now," he said, "I have been the son of Bernardone; henceforth I have but one Father — in heaven." So the career of St. Francis began. In an age of authority the man who came most to fill the popular imagination was a man who rejected all the authority on which men were wont to rely, and looked straight to a direct command speaking through his inner life, the Voice of the Holy Spirit. We cannot too highly value the force of this example. It was to work, we may not doubt, in the imaginations of good men, as no abstract teaching could work. While men were trying to harden and formalize the principle of authority in ordinances and in institutions, the free, poetical story of St. Francis was to proclaim that a man must obey first of all the silent messenger that spoke directly to his own soul.

(2) Another of the commanding figures of this period was Dante, nearly a century later, who has held the

imagination of the world captive by his immortal book. There we read, in a deeper way than by a formal biography, the inner life of the man who wrote it. I have already mentioned his influence on the awakening interest in natural things; I speak of him now as a man. We see him a loyal son of the Church, an admiring student of the theology of Thomas Aquinas, a staunch believer in the Imperial power: he had profound respect for the constituted authorities. He was a man who constantly had sorrow and misfortune; but he was confident with sublime assurance and hope: his spirit could not be conquered. The key to the life is Beatrice, a child of eight whom he had seen as a boy of nine. Every commentator has right to his interpretation. She was a real person, but, being dead, she could be to Dante only a spiritual guide. Under her guidance, thus transfigured, Dante looked upon the things which were, and the things which are, and the things which are to come. She was God's gift of love. Without being too literal, we may say that she was for Dante the incarnation of the Holy Spirit: she was an authority that spoke to him above the other sources of authority which he reverenced. He would not follow Thomas Aquinas as he dogmatized about confession and the papal power.

There is a wonderful freedom about the *Divine Comedy* which lifts it above its age. We see this in two incidents of the drama, — to speak of no more. One is the presence of Paolo and Francesca in hell. More sinned against than sinning, they appealed to Dante's pity and love. But there they are, in hell. The other incident is the presence of two notoriously abandoned women in paradise. In the context, when

their presence is described, Dante is showing the rottenness of conventional Church dignitaries. He is therefore showing that penitence and love can attain what a correct and pharisaical and unrepentant exterior cannot attain. Now what is the explanation of these two passages? The first is that Dante was evidently appealing to the Bible above the current Church sanctions of his age. He knew the inexorable demand of righteousness. He knew the God of the Hebrews, who is a consuming fire. Dispensations and excuses might be ever so plentiful in Peter's Palace; only a humble and a contrite heart was acceptable with God. That was the reason why Paolo and Francesca were where they were. And so it was with the once soiled spirits who found themselves in paradise, to the shocking of conventional saints. Dante knew well the New Testament. He knew the Lord Christ and His words, "Neither do I condemn thee." He knew about the woman who washed Christ's feet with her tears. He knew about the conversation at the well-curb in Samaria. The freedom of the Bible asserts itself in Dante over the ossifying standards in the theology and Church rules of his day.

Through the greatness of human love idealized and spiritualized, and through the Scriptures, Dante, respectful to constituted authorities, was revealing that in his own soul he obeyed first of all an inner Voice. He had direct communion with the unseen. So we are not surprised to hear him singing in paradise:

"And lo! all round about of equal brightness
Arose a lustre over what was there,
Like an horizon that is clearing up.
And as at rise of early eve begin
Along the welkin new appearances,
So that the sight seems real and unreal,

It seemed to me that new subsistences
Began there to be seen, and make a circle
Outside the other two circumferences.
O very sparkling of the Holy Spirit,
How sudden and incandescent it became
Unto mine eyes, that vanquished bore it not."[1]

Dante, by his self-revelation, shows how the Holy Spirit takes up a soul obedient and heroic, and makes it servant and friend.

(3) One more Italian I must mention. In the last years of the fifteenth century, while Lorenzo de' Medici was dominating Florence with his magnificent tyranny, Savonarola, versed in the Old Testament, took upon himself the rôle of an old Hebrew prophet. He called upon ecclesiastics, princes, and people to repent. The shops of Florence were closed when he preached. Lorenzo with all his power could not compete with this man's spiritual force. Lorenzo was patron of the convent of St. Mark, but Savonarola, when he became Prior, refused to do homage: "I owe it to God," cried the new Prior; "not to Lorenzo de' Medici." He foretold the French invasion under Charles VIII, and when the prophecy was fulfilled, both Savonarola and the people felt anew that the Spirit of God was upon Savonarola. By the aid of the French, the Medici were expelled, and though Savonarola refused any office, Florence became for the time being a theocracy, and Savonarola controlled it. The city was wholly changed by the spiritual fervour of this man. Savonarola looked across the valleys to Rome, where the worst Pope in history was enthroned; wherefore Savonarola redoubled his denunciation of the sins of the Church. Alexander VI threatened and attempted bribes, as of a cardinal's

[1] *Paradiso*, xiv.

hat; but Savonarola was not afraid, and he cared nothing for the world. Then he became extravagant, wild, fanatical; and his martyrdom, though glorious, was not wholly so. But he was one of the representative leaders of this period: he seized upon men's imagination; and he is one of the great men of all time.

Though Savonarola was at last made dizzy by the discovery which he had made, the discovery must never be forgotten. He had seen the preëminent authority of the human conscience, guided by the study of the Bible. He knew that a man filled with the Spirit of God is the governor of Pope or Prince; all other authority, however formidable, is subordinate to his.

The picturesqueness of Savonarola's story is part of its importance. He wrote many books, and they were translated into the languages of Europe; but the most influential document was the unwritten tale of his own life which became one of the traditions of the advancing years. Men who heard the story of Savonarola knew that God is not far away; they knew that He speaks directly through the human heart; and they knew that the surest way to open the heart to this divine messenger is the reading of the Word of God; for they had been told that Savonarola required the monks under him to study the Bible in the original languages. Thus the Holy Spirit spoke to the age through His servant Savonarola.

(4) Never has a period expressed itself so vividly as the Reformation period expressed itself in Luther. A child of the people whose rights he was to champion, he had much of the roughness and crudeness of a German peasant to the end; but these defects must not blind us to his place in the divine order.

Luther taught himself by reading not only the Bible, but the writings of men who had convinced him of their direct communion with God. For this reason he was intimate with the "experimental" portions of Augustine, Bernard, and Gerson, and we know that he placed the *Theologia Germanica* next to the Bible and Augustine. Naturally Luther's teaching was based on experience from the start. He broke with Scholasticism the moment he discovered that it was essentially Pelagian, that it neglected Augustine's doctrine of grace, and that it had no knowledge of the faith which throws itself directly upon God. When he attacked the sale of indulgences in his theses, he said, "The true Treasure-house of merits is the Holy Ghost of the grace and glory of God." The first fact to grasp about this doughty, rough-and-tumble reformer, is that he was an intensely spiritual man.

The posting of the theses was followed by the burning of the Pope's bull. The die was cast. A plain representative of German obscurity was pitted against the Pope, and people instantly began to take sides. A fluent person, named Eck, attempted to meet Luther's sallies with controversy. During this controversy Luther began to stand for the spiritual priesthood of all believers. He interpreted the current ecclesiasticism to mean that a man could not approach God without a priestly mediator, — which was false. The simple people and the Humanists rallied about Luther. It was this same Eck who at a much later time, when he chanced to be off his guard, delighted Luther by letting fall the remark that with the Church Fathers he would venture to oppose the Augsburg Confession, but not with the Scriptures.

The supreme moment in the life of Luther, and one of the supreme moments in human history, was the moment when he stood before the august assembly at the Diet of Worms, made up of the Emperor, six Electors, and a host of archbishops, bishops, and nobles, — all the outward authority which the world and the Church could command. Luther's preparation for this moment was prayer before an open Bible. When he had made his defense both in German and in Latin, when all had understood, when the anger of the papal party was kindled, then it was demanded of him whether or not he would recant. Thus he answered: "I am bound by the Scriptures which I have quoted; my conscience is submissive to the Word of God; therefore I may not, and will not, recant, because to act against conscience is unholy and unsafe. There I take my stand. I can do no otherwise. So help me God. Amen." Luther's *Ich kann nicht anders* is one of the battle cries which humanity can never hear unmoved. It is the cry of one poor rustic, standing before the full array of Church and State, declaring that he must disobey all human authority, when the Holy Spirit speaks in his heart and demands an obedience which is highest of all.

After this, until he left Worms, every conceivable thing was done to shake Luther's resolve. But nothing moved him. Whatever the Pope and the Emperor might do, he would be true to the Scriptures and his conscience. The story of David and Goliath had been repeated. Luther's battle was not for himself or his nation; it was for all time and all places. It was a victory for the Holy Spirit in the conscience of a defenceless man.

How clearly Luther understood that it was the

Holy Spirit whom he was obeying we see by an almost random reference to his writings. In his *Catechism* he said, "The Holy Ghost through the Gospel hath called me and enlightened me with His gifts, sanctified me by a true faith, and has preserved me; even as He is wont to call, to assemble, to lighten, and to sanctify the whole Church throughout the world."[1] And again he wrote: "The Holy Ghost goes first and before in what pertains to teaching; but in what concerns hearing, the Word goes first and before, and then the Holy Ghost follows after. For we must first hear the Word, and then afterwards the Holy Ghost works in our hearts; He works in the hearts of whom He will, and how He will, but never without the Word."[2] By placing the Bible as the test of the Voice within our hearts, Luther was guarding himself and his followers against the failure of many who have depended on the Inner Light. The right of private judgment was not circumscribed by any human medium or mediator; for the meaning of the Scripture was left to the individual. Luther and the others who translated the Bible into the languages of Europe were laying upon the common people the task and the responsibility of knowing the Word of God for themselves, and nothing whatever could stand between them and the Voice of the Holy Spirit to their consciences. The Bible was no longer an ecclesiastical law book;[3] it was a book for the individual

[1] *The Apostles' Creed, The Third Article.*

[2] *Table Talk*, ccxli.

[3] *Cf.* Creed of Pius V: "I also admit the Holy Scriptures, according to that sense which our holy mother the Church hath held and doth hold; to whom it belongeth to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

heart seeking to know the Living God. Luther as a boy had been awed and frightened by the figure of Christ in the window of the Mansfeldt church: the Christ in the window was stern of face, a sword was in His hand, and He was seated upon a rainbow. It was an unapproachable Christ. At length through the Holy Spirit and the New Testament, Luther found the Christ of pity and love. "The Holy Ghost," he said one day, "preaches and witnesses of none but Christ, therewith to strengthen and comfort all sad and sorrowful hearts. Thereon will I also remain, depending upon none other for comfort." [1]

As we look back upon Luther's time it seems as if the main spiritual gift through Luther to the German people was his German Bible and his German hymns. Of the Bible I have already spoken: it became so much a part of the life of the people, that its language is still the language of Germany. It has been the spiritual medium of the Word of God to the whole nation. Luther's hymns were scarcely less momentous. They sang themselves, in the sonorous chorals to which they were set, into the hearts of all earnest Germans; Heine called *Ein' feste Burg* the Marseillaise of the Reformation. "Music," said Luther, "is the best solace for a sad and sorrowful mind; by it the heart is refreshed and settled again in peace." [2] His own hymns were to bring to men, much buffeted and distressed, the good cheer of God's Holy Spirit.

(5) John Calvin was not attractive, but he had a bold spirit and a keenly logical mind; and he stands among the great men, wielding an influence that has affected a large part of the world. He succeeded in doing for Geneva what Savonarola tried to do for

[1] *Table Talk*, ccxliii. [2] *Table Talk*, dcccxl.

Florence. He preached vehemently against all looseness in morals and manners, and he became, by his sheer strength, the choice of the people for their dictator in all matters both ecclesiastical and civil. He was a despot, more intolerant than the Pope and quite as merciless in his punishment of heretics. Those who know little of Calvin's personal history have felt his influence. For the French Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, and the Puritans of England and New England have carried his cold and rigid system around the world. With our sunnier manners we do not look upon Calvinists with favour, but they introduced a strain of Spartan strictness and justice into modern civilization which we could ill spare. It is therefore necessary to see what Calvin contributed by his life and writings to the freedom of the modern world by the Holy Spirit.

The doctrine of Calvin with which his name is most associated is probably the doctrine of Predestination. Harsh as this seems, it is nevertheless bound up with the emphasis upon the Sovereignty of God. Calvin stood in such reasonable awe of the righteous ideals of God that he pictured man as utterly helpless without God. Exactly here he brought in his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Without the Holy Spirit man could do nothing; with the strength of the Holy Spirit man could do everything. Faith in Christ brought the Holy Spirit, whom He promised to send instantly to the aid of the man otherwise powerless. Calvin showed that a man must be united to Christ in order to attain His benefits; and only by the secret and special operation of the Holy Spirit could one be united to Christ and be made a member of His body. Thus the Spirit witnesses to man that he

is a child of God, and assures him that he is safe in God's keeping.[1] So, for the individual, the horror of Predestination passes, and the soul is at peace.

Calvin put high value upon the Sacraments, though he made their value dependent upon the sincere preaching of the Word of God.[2] Christ's aid is given, he said, in the Holy Communion not through a circumscribed presence in the elements, but by His Spirit transfusing into the faithful recipients of the elements His own life, even as if it penetrated into the bones and marrow of the people. The elements are not vain or empty signs, but through them Christ puts forth the efficacy of His Holy Spirit to fulfil His promises.[3]

Calvin's interest, it will be seen, was primarily with the individual believer. It is often said that no one has ever so effectively dwelt upon the Holy Spirit's work accomplished for us, one by one, as Calvin. For this reason adherents of Calvinism have sometimes been unduly selfish: assured of their own salvation by the comfort of the Holy Spirit, they have been somewhat callous concerning their neighbours, who were shut out from God's favour by the tragic side of Predestination.

And this suggests the limitations of this whole period which in this chapter we have been studying. In gaining his freedom, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, the individual was often contemptuous of the whole people of God. As we close the book of the sixteenth century, we feel that the sons of God had regained their spiritual freedom; but we

[1] *Institutes*, iii, ch. 33 ff.
[2] *Institutes*, iv, ch. 1.
[3] *Institutes*, iv, ch. 15, 17.

find a strange tendency in those who had recently been set free to bind heavy burdens upon their kinsfolk and acquaintance who had heard the Spirit's commands in another form from the way in which the Voice had spoken to them.

In these six centuries the Holy Spirit had won much for the children of men; but men were not able to receive all that He would give them. We see again an instance of the wonderful patience of God.

X

THREE CENTURIES OF INCREASING LOYALTY

THE nearer we stand to a man or an epoch the more difficult it is to pass upon either a sound judgment. The three hundred years that have just passed represent too short a time to discover an accurate generalization of their character as a whole. They are doubtless part of a greater period whose main current cannot yet be surmised. But it will do no harm to venture an hypothesis. It seems to me that as the stupendous period which culminated in the Protestant Reformation was an age when the Holy Spirit was teaching the world the value of the individual soul, so we are now in an age (which perhaps is far from its culmination) wherein the Holy Spirit is teaching the individual the value of the world. As the Spirit then whispered *Freedom*, so now, I believe, He is whispering, to all who have been made free, *Loyalty*. To illustrate this hypothesis, I shall select a number of characteristics of these last three centuries which we may safely trust to have had the inspiration and guidance of the Spirit of God.

I

A cardinal influence of the Holy Spirit in the last three centuries has been the use of sacred music in

hymns and oratorios. Every one who has been part of a large congregation knows the power of a really fine hymn to weld hearts together and to offer them, as it were, a living sacrifice to the Giver of all that is harmonious and strong in life. In like manner, no one who has been part of a great throng listening to *The Messiah* at Christmas-tide can fail to know how the music, with its dramatic appeal, brings those who sing and those who hear into one mighty company to worship the new-born Christ.

(1) In the seventeenth century Martin Rinkart wrote *Nun danket alle Gott*, which is often called the German *Te Deum*. It is supposed to have been composed when peace was declared at the close of the Thirty Years' War; and it is sung in Germany on all great national occasions. English-speaking people feel its stately joy in Miss Winkworth's noble translation. A century later (1729), Tersteegen wrote *Du verborgene Gottesliebe*, which was translated into English nine years later by John Wesley, *Thou Hidden Love of God*. So good a judge of sacred poetry as Oliver Wendell Holmes was wont to say that Wesley's translation was the most beautiful hymn in English. German literature began with religious poetry and many great hymns have been written. They have been, in an incalculable measure, the means of binding Germany together: they inspire to loyalty. The solemn Latin Hymn *Adeste Fideles*, written in the seventeenth century, probably may be assigned to German authorship.

I might go on to speak of other nations, notably Russia, with the National Anthem, *God Protect the Czar*, by Zhukovsky (1830), set to music by Alexis Lwoff (1833); this music arouses us as we sing Alex-

ander Pope's *Rise Crowned with Light.* But it will serve my purpose better if I point out the wealth of English hymns which have been given to the world in these three centuries.

After the passing of the Puritan domination, during which the Hebrew psalms were battle cries for Cromwell's armies, firing the Roundheads with religious zeal, the various successive movements in English Christian life sent forth their hymns. In 1674, Ken, one of the seven bishops who refused to swear allegiance to King William, wrote his immortal morning and evening hymns. In 1712 Addison wrote *The Spacious Firmament on High.* The nonconformist, Isaac Watts, wrote, in 1707, *When I Survey the Wondrous Cross* (which Matthew Arnold thought to be the finest of English hymns) and in 1719, his paraphrase of Psalm XC, *O God our Help in Ages Past.* Then the Wesleyan Movement with its contagious fervour brought out the poetic genius of Charles Wesley, who is said to have written more than six thousand hymns, several of which must last as long as the English language is spoken. In 1738, a bird, pursued by a hawk, flew in at his open window, thus finding safety: deeply moved, Charles Wesley wrote *Jesu, Lover of My Soul.* In 1749, persecuted with his co-religionists, he wrote, *Soldiers of Christ, Arise:* henceforth it was to give courage to quiet religious people as Psalm LXVIII had given new heart to Cromwell's soldiers. In the Evangelical Movement in the Church of England, Cowper bound men together by such hymns as *O for a Closer Walk with God* (1769), and Toplady, with *Rock of Ages* (1775). When the Evangelical Movement issued in a new birth of missions, Bishop Heber wrote *From Greenland's Icy Mountains* (1819), *The Son of God*

Goes Forth to War (1827), and *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty* (1827). This last hymn Tennyson thought the foremost hymn in any language. The Oxford Movement, as it resulted in both the English and the Roman Churches, produced Keble's *Sun of My Soul* (1820), Newman's *Lead, Kindly Light* (1833), and Faber's *Hark, Hark, My Soul* (1854). The Society of Friends is represented by Whittier, some of whose excellent hymns are certain to find a permanent place, especially stanzas from his poem *Our Master* (1856). Kipling's *Recessional* (1897) is an admirable instance of the way in which a hymn can gather up and express the emotions of a national responsibility: it will certainly live.

We are beginning to have hymns expressing the social yearning of our time, and though we cannot be sure as yet which of these may survive, some will survive, and they will help to bring men to a sense of their brotherhood, their common fellowship in the Holy Spirit. Ebenezer Elliott's *When Wilt Thou Save the People* (1850), called "The People's Anthem," was a contributing factor in the solution of the industrial difficulties of the middle of the nineteenth century in England. In *Socialist Songs*[1] one finds Samuel Longfellow's *Out of the Dark*, Dr. Johnson's *Life of Ages*, and Charles Kingsley's *Day of the Lord.* A stirring hymn from one who has deep sympathy for the toilers is Dr. Washington Gladden's *O Master, Let Me Walk with Thee.*

There is one well-proved hymn, by Harriet Auber (1829), which concerns the theme of these pages:

[1] Published by C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1901.

"Our blest Redeemer, ere He breathed
His tender, last farewell,
A Guide, a Comforter, bequeathed
With us to dwell.

"He came sweet influence to impart,
A gracious willing guest,
While He can find one humble heart
Wherein to rest

"And His that gentle voice we hear,
Soft as the breath of even,
That checks each thought, that calms each fear,
And speaks of heaven.

"And every virtue we possess,
And every victory won,
And every thought of holiness,
Are His alone.

"Spirit of purity and grace,
Our weakness, pitying, see:
Oh, make our hearts Thy dwelling-place,
And worthier Thee."

Some people contend that a real hymn should be objective, magnifying God's glory, and forgetting our troubles and joys and needs. Both objective and subjective hymns have their place, but in binding people together, in lifting the hearts of an assembly to God, subjective hymns are quite as compelling as the objective. *Jesu, Lover of My Soul*, with its constant use of the first person singular, brings men shoulder to shoulder more surely than the chiefest of objective hymns, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty*.

To the music to which hymns are sung is often ascribed the whole power of the words, in the uniting sense of which I am now speaking. This is not true; for many hymns, like *Abide with Me*, *All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name*, and *Nearer, My God, to Thee*

may be sung to different tunes and still retain their influence. Nevertheless, the music of hymns shares with the words whatever effect may be imparted. We still derive inspiration from tunes written before this period, notably Louis Bourgeois's *Old Hundredth* in the Genevan Psalter (1551), and the Ancient Plain Songs, *O Quanta Qualia* and *Veni Emmanuel*. But most of the hymn music that stirs us is the composition of men who have lived within the last two centuries. Without attempting a catalogue, we may recall such tunes as William Croft's *St. Anne* (1708), Oliver Holden's *Coronation* (1793), Shrubsole's *Miles Lane* (1779), Monk's *Eventide* (1861), Dykes's *Nicæa* (1861) and *Lux Benigna* (1868), Barnby's *Sarum* (1868), and Horatio Parker's *Mt. Sion* (1888). Through words and music together, modern hymns have kindled in receptive people a mutual loyalty to one another, and a common loyalty to the Highest. This we may believe a gift bestowed by the Holy Spirit.

(2) The Oratorio cannot make an appeal quite so nearly universal as the popular hymn, but it nevertheless can make a very wide appeal. Making use of both the dramatic and the epic elements in music, it stirs the religious emotions of great congregations or audiences, and unites them in a common enthusiasm for some overruling spiritual conception.

Though the Oratorio originated in the sixteenth century and the names of St. Filippo Neri, Stradella, and Bach (through his *Passions-Musik*) are associated with it, the greatness of the Oratorio was not revealed till the eighteenth century, when Handel proved his mastery in this department of sacred art. When he was only twenty he produced at Rome his Oratorio, *La Resurrezione*. He wrote *Esther* in England in

1720, but it was not publicly produced until 1732. Even then the fear of prejudice was so evident that it was announced that there was to be no acting, only there would be a large number of voices and instruments. After writing *Esther*, Handel devoted himself to secular music, and not till he was fifty-three did he again write an Oratorio. Some of his Oratorios were written after his blindness set in; possibly some of their pathos and consolation may be derived from this personal experience of the composer. All the subjects show that he was interpreting the Bible with the spiritual aid of music: *Deborah, Athaliah, Israel in Egypt, The Messiah, Samson, Judas Maccabæus, Joshua, Solomon, Jephtha.* His crowning work was *Israel in Egypt*, but *The Messiah*, which he called "the Sacred Oratorio," is the work for which most people will remember him, and its musical merit is exceedingly high. Later Mozart's additional orchestral accompaniments made these Oratorios still more inspiring. Haydn's *The Return of Tobias, The Seven Last Words*, and *The Creation* followed. Beethoven added *The Mount of Olives;* and Spohr, *The Last Judgment.* Then came the greatest name in the writings of the Oratorio since Handel, Mendelssohn, who composed *St. Paul* and *Elijah.* More recently, one thinks of Gounod's *Redemption* (1882), and *Mors et Vita* (1885), two portions of a trilogy, of which the third portion was never finished. And some record must be made here of the influence upon congregations by the singing of Gounod's setting for the *Sanctus*, from the *St. Cecilia:* it has meant a spiritual awakening for many a kneeling group of people. Gounod perhaps cannot be called really great, but his music has touched many hearts. The popular modern

passion music, such as Stainer's sacred cantata, *The Crucifixion*, has been a spiritual boon to all classes of people.

This barest of outlines will indicate roughly how much the Church music of today owes to the last three hundred years. In great parish church or in cathedral, as we hear this music, we lift up our hearts, and we know again that the outward and the seen are the least of realities. Since most of this music which is so sung has for its central theme devotion to Christ, we may wonder if in this way the Holy Spirit is not once more taking of the things of our Saviour and showing them unto His disciples. He uses musicians as he uses the theologians and the preachers to make clear the pity and the love of Jesus. The story of the Holy Spirit in time cannot be told without this grateful recognition.

II

An outstanding distinction of the last three centuries is the contribution of the natural sciences.[1]

[1] *Cf.* William James, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, p. 20: "Few of us realize how short the career of what we know as 'Science' has been. Three hundred and fifty years ago hardly any one believed in the Copernican planetary system. Optical combinations were not discovered. The circulation of the blood, the weight of air, the conduction of heat, the laws of motion were unknown; the common pump was inexplicable; there were no clocks; no thermometers; no general gravitation; the world was five thousand years old; spirits moved the planets; alchemy, magic, astrology, imposed on every one's belief. Modern science began only after 1600, with Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Torricelli, Pascal, Harvey, Newton, Huygens, and Boyle. Five men telling one another in succession the discoveries which their lives had witnessed, could deliver the whole of it into our hands: Harvey might have told Newton, who might have told Voltaire; Voltaire might have told Dalton, who might have told Huxley, who might have told the readers of this book."

Noble names, such as Galileo, Isaac Newton, Darwin, Pasteur, illumine the rôle of the elect. The world has sometimes thought science haughty and negative, opposed to all that is spiritual. But a contemplation of the humility and awe of the greatest scientists might at any time have dispelled such a judgment; and in our own day we are convinced that spiritual religion has no stronger ally than the exact scientific knowledge which able investigators have given to the world. The field is vast, and the only generalization which is possible must be confined to a few obvious results.

(1) Modern Science, in the first place, has given the world a new respect for law. When Galileo and Sir Isaac so improved the telescope that astronomers could really observe the heavens, when Sir Isaac, sitting in his garden at Woolsthorpe, began to meditate upon the falling apple, there began to be a knowledge of the serene laws which govern our days and our nights, our months and our years. It is true that a naturalist like Haeckel may be so overwhelmed with the grim machinery of the universe that he almost viciously denies all spiritual control or meaning. But most observers see with laws the limits of laws. There is mystery in law, for the discoveries come in year by year, and what may be known of the workings of this marvellously arranged universe stretches out into infinity. Law, therefore, so far from being something hard and mechanical, is one of the mysteries of life. The eminent scientist is cautious in discounting the miraculous tale of some past age: there may be a record here which to some future science will be quite intelligible. Laws, moreover, while they grind us sometimes to powder, are being called in by the phy-

sicians and surgeons, the bacteriologists and the electricians, to be the reconstructing forces of diseased tissues. Laws, in other words, have all the austerity and all the benevolence which the ordinary layman sees in nature generally, as in the quiet sunshine lighting up a June meadow and in the relentless sweep of a tornado.

Now if we believe in the Holy Spirit and His influence at all, we must believe that such a demonstration of law as we have seen in the science of the last three centuries means something. Whether the scientists feel themselves creatures of a Supreme Will or only creatures of their own might, we have a perfect right to see in them instruments of the Holy Spirit educating the world. A man in the first century said, "We are members one of another." But the world never understood the words as it understands them today. The God in and above and under and around the world is a God of Law. We know His love in other ways; in natural laws we see the exactness of His justice. Whether consciously or blindly, the modern scientist has been the medium of a stupendous spiritual lesson to men.

(2) Another lesson which science has taught is the exceedingly probable hypothesis of Evolution. When Darwin and Wallace first gave the convincing data of their observation to the people, representatives of organized Christianity felt that if the hypothesis of evolution could be proved, the authority of revealed religion would be discredited. The opposition to the doctrine of Evolution was apt to be ill-informed and prejudiced. But as devout men, who thought rather than talked, considered the whole subject, they saw in Evolution a confirmation of the doctrine of design

in nature. Instead of thinking of a God who started the world and then simply watched His work from above, they now thought of a God who not only started the world into being, but lived in it and, instant by instant, developed and changed and glorified it. The doctrine of Evolution, therefore, teaches men that the Divine Life is an immanent Power, and as all that He has made is subject to law, so too it is destined to grow. And this is to teach men not only a fact of development in nature, but it is to reinforce the spark of hope which is planted in every human breast.

This, again, we may say with confidence, is the work of the Holy Spirit. The spirit of loyalty is again aroused in us. For the individual is part of a great whole. The integrity and growth of the individual makes its influence, slight but real, felt upon the whole mass. Science tells us what we can do to forward the far-off divine event.

(3) The patience of naturalists has revealed to us the practically unlimited field of instinct in the animal world, both vertebrate and invertebrate. This makes a further contribution to our knowledge of life. A baby who has never seen another child creep, begins the process of creeping instinctively. Every domestic pet teaches us the force of instinct. Any intelligent observer could have made a summary of these instances of instinct among the vertebrates; but modern naturalists have taught us the amazing intricacy of instinct throughout the almost invisible insect realm. The French naturalist Fabre, in his poetic fashion, tells of the elephant beetle, which always bores its way into the acorn so that the bore will be as long as possible, and the end of the bore will be in the cup of the acorn. In this cup the egg is laid, and the young larva lives

first upon its tender food; when this food is exhausted, it makes its way through the bore, eating the filings left by its parent. It is by this time strong enough to feed upon the hard meat of the nut, and when the acorn falls to the ground, the little being crawls out and goes into the earth.[1] Generation after generation this process is repeated. Or we are told that a wasp will find a caterpillar of a particular species, will sting it in a special way, will lay an egg upon it, and carry it to a nest and there wall it in with unhesitating precision. This she will do only once; and the wasp in the egg hatched after her death will, in time, do exactly the same thing.[2] There is no possible way of instruction in either of these cases. We cannot conceive anything more cunningly devised than these expedients for the preservation and care of the young. But we can ascribe it all only to instinct.

Now there must be, one would think, some immanent intelligence within organic life from which such instinct could be fed. Is it not fair to posit the hypothesis that this interpenetrating intelligence, reaching up and down through life, and instinctively appropriated by the highest human genius as well as by the merest atom of an insect, is no less than the Holy Spirit of God, finding and shepherding the world? And if so, may we not think that, in allowing this fact to be known through the Science of these last centuries, the Holy Spirit has allowed to be made known to us one more touch of nature which makes the whole world kin? Is not the world once more bound together by a common loyalty to the Protector of its universal life?

[1] *Social Life in the Insect World*, tr. Miall, pp. 240 ff.

[2] Graham Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 34.

(4) A feature of modern Science almost too plain to need recording is its power to stimulate one's imagination. Those closest to it may be somewhat hardened to its divine wonder, just as improperly guided choristers may, by constant association with holy things, become insensible to the mystical. But the layman who beholds the discoveries of Science from afar, feels that the ground is holy, the mystery of the burning bush is always before him, and he gazes, awed, into the possibilities of future wonder. Steam was the marvel of yesterday; electricity is the marvel of to-day; radium and the ether are the marvels looming before us for tomorrow. We cannot help being hushed in reverence. Strange, beautiful, and difficult, as God's universe is already, we suspect that He has hidden within it an infinite array of bewildering delights to be enjoyed and an equal array of horrors to be transcended. To one who imagines what, through Science, the Holy Spirit may reveal to men of the latent interest within the universe, we can think of no monotonous moments in life, though we live on in our present order for ever.

(5) The last aspect of Science which I may mention is its adventure and heroism. From the days of the courageous Galileo, shut up in prison, the Science of the last three centuries has known how to suffer, if need be, for the truth's sake. Professor Osborn convincingly argues that Pasteur should be counted among the saints, because "he played the original and creative part in the movement for the prevention and relief of human suffering,"[1] and that we should see his memorial in cathedrals. Pasteur and many others have given themselves in rapt devotion for the saving of

[1] *The New Order of Sainthood*, pp. 2 ff.

humanity. From time to time we read that a physician, hoping to discover some new healing for a dangerous malady, submits to some doubtful experiment, not knowing whether he may prove his theory or die in its failure. The men who have died in their endeavour to reach the North or the South Pole may be called foolish or reckless; or it may be said that they were seeking only an heroic reputation; but, all in all, we know that they were men of high adventure, willing to make the supreme sacrifice for a scientific end. Thus, whether these heroes of all the departments of Science know it or not, we canonize them; we place them in the company of Him of whom, on the eve of His adventurous career, it was said, "The Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness." The Holy Spirit of God is driving many a man of Science into the wilderness, and because many a man is not afraid of the sacrifice, sometimes not even conscious of it, therefore we link his name with the Highest.

III

As modern Science advanced, its confidence sometimes became so great as to assume that it could ultimately compass the explanation of man. It was thought by some that what we call the spirit of man was only a function of the body, so that when the body perished the spirit was snuffed out with it. In any case the study of what we call psychology shows us that the relation of the spiritual part of man to the physical is very intimate. In untechnical language we may say that one theory would affirm that the mind and the soul used a body temporarily, being no more indissolubly identified with it than is a

hand with the tightly fitting glove which covers it; whereas the other theory would declare that the body had a mind and a soul to be counted among its varied functions of digestion, hearing, smell, etc. We have a department of psychology known as physiological psychology; but it is doubtful whether we can think of any other kind of psychology under our present conditions, since the only kind of souls that Science can study now are souls linked with human bodies, and therein and thereby expressing themselves.

Like every other phase of research, psychology sends its roots down into the past, but as now formulated, we may think of psychology as a modern development. And if one may judge from the trend of such popular leaders as William James and Professor Bergson, we may believe that the ultimate verdict of psychology is to be not on the material side but on the spiritual. The psychologist has made observations of personality exerting its influence across broad intervals of space in what for convenience we call telepathy; he thinks that possibly intelligence has been sent from spirits recently separated from their bodies in death. The strange phenomena, once exploited by the charlatan, are now cautiously sifted by the scientific explorer, and we have a Society for Psychic Research, with respected names enrolled from both Europe and America. There is now on the part of Science a readiness to expect a spiritual interpretation of humanity which would have been, it seems, impossible thirty years ago.

We are seeing that the body can affect the spirit of man. William James's chapter on Habit in his *Psychology* has been more influential than any sermon. There we see how the will can send out a deed through the matter of the body, and faintly begin a groove,

along which, by repeated acts, the same kind of deed may more and more easily move, till a habit is formed, as a stream is formed on the side of a mountain: only a superhuman effort can change its course. And we are seeing, on the other hand, that the spirit affects the body. I have already mentioned in this book[1] M. Bergson's demonstration that there is no such thing as a suppressed emotion. Every emotion instantly registers its strength in the human body and we know its intensity by the physical disturbance it causes. From all this I deduce the principle that modern Science shows us that the spirit of man has in the human body the most intricate and sensitive medium for its expression, acting and reacting with marvellous precision.

Another doctrine of modern psychology is that there is a region of the subconscious in every life. The memories of childhood are here, the languages and the histories we learn and forget are here. Old age seems to have access to this reservoir, but all through life a sharp emergency is apt to reveal to us our subconscious selfhood. Then, having gone so far, we are forced to open the windows of our imagination. If the spirits which now occupy certain bodies had a life before their present tabernacles were formed, is the record of this earlier time stored in the subconscious region of a man's life? A good many flashes, as from a larger experience than the longest human term can account for, seem to be in harmony with such a conjecture as this.

But there is even more. Is there not through this subconscious or subliminal selfhood more than an individual possession? Are we not there joined in a

[1] See above, p. 48.

great community of selfhood? This is a fruitful hypothesis for those who try to explain the vagaries of telepathy and thought transference and many another manifestation of wide-flung communication. It makes one think of Hegel with his theory of a World Soul. It makes one go much farther, arousing thoughts of St. Paul who said, "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit."[1] May it not be that modern psychology is bringing us, by a new path, to a knowledge of our union one with another through the Holy Spirit of God? There can be, and there often is, another interpretation; namely, that the subliminal reservoir belonging to a common humanity is of humanity purely and solely, having no connection with any influence or power above or even outside humanity. The theory of the World Soul, august as it is, may exclude if it will all thought of the divine. But when one, for other reasons, is assured that God is, and that He loves man, then one is entitled to see in the tentative and groping suggestions of psychology about a community of subliminal selfhood an inspiring hypothesis of one way, at least, in which we live and move and have our being in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. Hither we may look for fresh announcements that may profoundly help the theologian; and it may be that theology will attempt its use of the subliminal, just as Dr. Sanday has suggested that the subconscious self of our Lord may perhaps have been the means by which His divine and human natures were, according to orthodox doctrine, fused, yet kept distinct.[2]

To one who thinks much of the Holy Spirit all

[1] 1 *Corinthians* xii, 4.

[2] *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, pp. 163 ff.

Science must seem one of the means which He is using in modern days to illumine mankind; but to psychology especially we who rest in the comfort of the Spirit must turn for confirmation of many an intuition and for many a ray of new light which we perhaps had not dared to expect.

IV

When the Protestant Reformation proved to itself the folly of trusting to what assumed to be an infallible Church, it set up by the side of private judgment (or the right of the individual conscience to know the will of God) the authority of the Bible. It can hardly be said that the Bible was set up as an infallible standard, in and by itself, for Luther quite unblushingly cast the instructive Epistle of St. James out of the Canon, and all the reformers insisted that it was necessary to have the immediate light of the Holy Spirit to aid the individual rightly to divide the Word of God in the pages of the Bible. To the scoffer it seemed as if the reformers exchanged ecclesiasticism for bibliolatry; but when one glances at the groups of people who insisted on following their own private light without any reference to the consensus of history or humanity, one knows that any reformer who was to be a sound leader must have upheld the double witness, the witness of the individual heart and the witness of the larger humanity. This larger humanity was authoritatively expressed for him in the Bible.

In the Storm and Stress Period of German Thought, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the modern historical school was born. Through the nineteenth century, in all progressive nations, this school pursued its investigations. It looked into the history of

Romulus and Remus. It shook the myths and the facts of history apart, and attempted to write history anew. The story was severe and halting, and there were more footnotes than text; but it was honest, and, whatever mistakes there were, the whole undertaking was in the interest of truth. Back of it all, we may confidently say, was the Holy Spirit, who was promised to guide us into all truth.

Then these critical scholars fell to work upon the Bible. Some were iconoclastic, destructive, altogether eager to shock pious people; but the really great scholars felt their commission from on high and touched the sacred pages with the utmost reverence. Men like Tischendorf, Westcott, and Hort worked upon the text, using the more ancient documentary authorities, which had become known only within the last two centuries: thus passages dear to the people were sometimes judged later additions, and retained only within brackets, or else quite rejected.[1] But this lower criticism as it was called did not agitate the sensitive: it was only when the so-called higher critics began their work that people were alarmed. Higher criticism maintains its right to judge by thought and vocabulary and style whether the parts of a book belong together representing one time, or, because of a final editorship, they must be separated into original documents and assigned to separated periods. The results of criticism may be conservative or radical. No sane man could be expected to assent to all the conclusions which various clever scholars announce, for they would make a medley of confusion and contradiction. But the critical method must have full approval, because it stands for "the process," to quote an able

[1] *E.g.*, *St. John* viii, 1–11; *St. Mark* xvi, 9–20; 1 *John* v, 7.

scholar,[1] "whereby the Word of God has won the right to be understood." So devout and conservative a scholar as Bishop Westcott charged the youth under him to "retain a firm faith in Criticism and a firm faith in God."[2] Our trust in God is shown when we do not shrink from the fullest light which men can throw upon His Book.

While critical scholars worked upon the documents of the Pentateuch or the Book of Isaiah, there was protest here and there, but men were reasonably calm. When scholars began to apply the same method to the Gospels and the Epistles there has been often consternation. Even Bishop Gore, himself a critical scholar, so lately as 1914 wrote that while he felt that the critical reconstruction of the idea of the Old Testament had made it "incomparably better suited for spiritual edification,"[3] he seemed to himself to see quite clearly "the broad difference between the Old Testament as prophecy and the New Testament as fulfilment in fact."[4] Long before, John Henry Newman had warned Stanley that the Biblical critics must stop with the Old Testament, and he begged Stanley to use his influence to keep the critical method out of New Testament investigation.[5] But King Knut cannot keep the tide from coming in. Whether scholars and unlearned saints shrink from the process or bravely meet it, the process has begun and will go on till the end. What can we say about it, if we are to recognize the scholarship of free and earnest men to be part of the guidance of the Holy Spirit?

[1] Professor H. S. Nash, *The History of the Higher Criticism*, sub-title.
[2] G. W. E. Russell, *The Household of Faith*, p. 199.
[3] *The Basis of Anglican Fellowship*, p. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, 18.
[5] Prothero, *Life of Stanley*, vol. ii, pp. 340 ff.

(1) First, men are compelled to study the earthly Life of our Lord as they never have studied it before. Christology in one form or another is the theme of nearly all the theology of the last fifty years. It is not a mere devotional study; it is not a mere picturesque narrative with geographical and archæological illustration; it is the most ardent effort to understand the facts of the historical Jesus and the substance of His teaching. Men long to know about Him, to reconstruct in their own minds as accurately as one can the Man His contemporaries saw. The task is difficult, and for that reason the impression made is deep. As long as Christ is taken for granted, He is scarcely known. When knowledge about Him must, as it were, be fought for, He is won as soldiers attain a great victory, He is possessed, and He is an inalienable and dominating Presence in human experience. It may be too soon to tell just what this criticism of the documents of Christ's biography will contribute to the world's knowledge of Him, but I am confident that the outcome will show that the world is to know more than it has yet known. The very tragedy of the fear that we may lose something which we have treasured will make us the more alert to discern what has escaped humanity in all the centuries before. We crave the easy and the happy methods. God gives us, in His love, the hard and the perplexing methods; and thereby He grants us to find the most precious ore. Once more in this day I seem to discover that the Holy Spirit is taking of the things of Christ and is showing them unto His disciples. If men wonder why there are hundreds of books on Christ and only a few on the Holy Spirit, they may believe at last that this very fact shows how actively the

Holy Spirit is received in our generation. It is His doing.

(2) I cannot think that in the end any painstaking student shall find his knowledge of Christ reduced by the age of free criticism, but I am quite convinced that nearly every man who comes in contact with much of the exposition of present-day Christology will stare before him somewhat fearfully at times, and ask if then he must lose his hold upon His Master. That very question is wholesome for a man. He must turn upon himself and ask savagely if the Christ upon whom he has been depending is only a Christ who lived in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago. If the New Testament were to lead only to an historic Christ it would fail in its unique purpose; it would be nothing but common history, or whatever other common literature one might decide to call it. There have been long sections of time when good readers of the Bible seem to have contented themselves with learning to believe in an accurate and orthodox past: if they had uttered their thoughts, they would have said, "Moses is dead, and the prophets are dead, — and Jesus Christ is dead!" It is out of such a formalized, mummified Christianity that we may safely think that the Holy Spirit has rescued us, with the agonizing sharpness of a divine love.

When the documents are being so rudely handled that we close our eyes, when the comments made by radical scholars are so irreverent that we stop our ears, then the whisper sounds in our hearts, "Are you depending only on the past, have you no direct experience which makes you sure of Christ? Have you never heard Him speak, felt His presence, acknowledged His restraining, His encouraging, hand?" If a man

can answer Yes to such questions of the heart, then he must hold his head high; for he knows that no critics can henceforth daunt him. He has in himself the light which may show what is husk and what is kernel. It is not a bare historic Christ whom he finds again in the New Testament, for he knows how Christ lived as well as that he lived; he knows the traits there exemplified; the words Christ spoke are like the words Christ speaks, — through whatever vicissitudes they may have passed, they are his words still. What the critics will finally decide, when they have weighed *all* the evidence, is clear to the man who, through his predicament, has found within his own life the present and infallible Christ.

Criticism sometimes does a man such a merciful favour as to bring him, either anew or for the first time, to the feet of a living Saviour. If honestly faced, criticism does it for every man. Thus endowed, a man goes back to the Bible with an expectation he never had before, because it is bristling with news about this Leader who is now his real Companion. He is in no danger of depending wholly on his private and isolated experience: his own certainty must be glorified by the witness of men and the witness of the Book. Because he has found Christ through tribulation, the fires of loyalty burn bright in his soul. He is loyal to all who are loyal to Christ, and therefore He is loyal to the Book which is overwhelmingly His. Once more the Holy Spirit has taken of the things of the Son of God, and has revealed them unto men.

V

A series of movements through these three centuries has been consciously concerned with the revival of the spiritual in religion. Though not always opposed to scholarship these movements have doubted the power of scholarship to assist spiritual religion even if scholarship did not retard its growth. If existing expressions of ecclesiastical life had fulfilled their mission, unquestionably these protests would not have arisen. Possibly all of them will at length have melted into larger processes; but they have each, in its time, accomplished something valuable to men. Therefore we may believe that the Holy Spirit, brooding over the hearts of God's children, caused these various movements to wean complacent Christian organizations from their formalism and unreality. Nor were the organizations for which an antidote was needed always Christian: various elaborate systems arose in Europe attempting to banish God or quite to explain Him away. Such was Deism in England, the Infidelity of France led by Voltaire, and at length German Rationalism. The dry Scholasticism of the middle ages against which Mysticism arose was repeated in new and varied forms after the Reformation. And once more the Spirit made the world know that the Divine is near.

(1) Towards the middle of the seventeenth century George Fox initiated a movement which issued in the Society of Friends, nicknamed Quakers. Later Robert Barclay gave to the Society a system of theology, and the whole history of the Friends shows an influence quite out of proportion to their small numbers. Their main doctrine was "the Light of Christ in man,"

which was clearly to them the Holy Spirit. "And I saw," said Fox, "that there was an Ocean of Darkness and Death: but an infinite Ocean of Light and Love flowed over the Ocean of Darkness. In that also I saw the infinite Love of God, and I had great openings." [1] Barclay taught that even the heathen had this light. The Inner Light was apparently either independent of the Scriptures, or at least superior to them. "Because," said Barclay, "they are only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Yet because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty." [2] The Sacraments were rejected; the taking of oaths, war, slavery, the education of the clergy, the payment of tithes to support a "hireling ministry," music in secular or sacred places, all were denounced as wrong. There is no need to point out the exaggerations and one-sidedness of Quakerism: they are plain enough. One must, however, note the positive influence which it exerted. It was the beginning of the agitation which ended human slavery; it has perceptibly influenced men to see that war is unnatural and wrong; it has won respect for its simplicity and kindness; and, most of all, it has made many outside its ranks test the presence of the Holy Spirit in their hearts. Thus Sir Thomas Browne, a contemporary of the early Quakers, wrote: "I am sure there is a common spirit that plays within us,

[1] *Journal*, p. 17.

[2] *An Apology for True Christian Divinity*, p. 67.

yet makes no part of us; and that is the Spirit of God. . . . Whosoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this Spirit, though I feel his pulse, I dare not say he lives: for truely, without this, to me there is not heat under the Tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the Sun."[1] And the great Frederick Denison Maurice two centuries later was so much in debt to the Quaker message that he wrote one of his best books to invite the Friends to look on the other side of the shield.[2]

(2) Another form of Mysticism in this age was Pietism, which flourished in Germany from the end of the seventeenth century. It did not become a separate sect, but was a movement influencing many Christians. It exalted religious feeling. The prominent name at the beginning was Spener; and in later days its chief distinction was that it trained Schleiermacher. Heterodox as he was in parts of his system, Schleiermacher defined the Holy Spirit as "the union of the divine being with human nature in the form of the collective spirit which animates the collective life of believers."[3] This is not satisfactory as a definition, but it was of practical service because it induced many people who, out of Rationalism, came under Schleiermacher's sway, to open their spirits to the Divine Spirit, and thereby in Him to live. Thirty years after his death, his *Leben Jesu* was first printed: in this he conceived of our Lord as a man in whom the Holy Spirit works as perfectly as it can work in humanity. Some of the greatest of the German theologians of the nineteenth century received their inspiration from Schleiermacher.

[1] *Religio Medici*, Part I, § xxxii.

[2] *The Kingdom of Christ, or Hints to a Quaker.*

[3] *Der christliche Glaube*, vol. iii, p. 333.

(3) Incomparably the most telling reaction against the dryness of these three hundred years was the rise of Methodism under John Wesley's leadership in the eighteenth century. Beginning among a group of religious students at Oxford it became a movement among the plain people of England and America. It was a protest against the coldness of the Church of England, and against the Predeterminism of Calvinism. It spoke of the universality and freedom of the Atonement. Wesley preached to throngs of people, often in the open fields, that they must look for and expect the witness of the Holy Spirit in their hearts, thus attaining the confidence that they are "accepted in the Beloved." The unconventional methods of the Wesleyans, together with their rigid and ascetic rules, were not congenial to the stiff, uncompromising, and rather worldly but good leaders of the Church of England of the eighteenth century; with more patience and sympathy on both sides, there is no reason why the vigorous spirituality of the Wesleyans should not have been directly incorporated into the Established Church. As it was, Methodism had much to do with the Evangelical Movement within the Church of England.

This Evangelical Movement in the English Church represented an effort to put first of all in life a personal relationship to Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit. It did not dispense with Church Orders and the Sacraments, nor did it minimize in the least the value of common worship; but it dwelt upon the conversion of the soul to Christ and an immediate relationship to Him which required no mediation of priest or sacrament. How far this movement kindled loyalty is seen by the zeal which it showed in sending

out missionaries to the ends of the earth. It had what it called a love for souls. John Wesley had once said, "I look upon the whole world as my parish." The Holy Spirit in the hearts of both the Methodists and the Evangelical Churchmen drove many into the wildernesses of the earth, that there they might tell strangers and foreigners Who it is that speaks through conscience, and thus bring them all to a knowledge of the Saviour.

In all these movements the Holy Spirit corrected the inevitable tendency to institutionalism and formalism which appears from time to time throughout Christian history. Some of the people reacted so far as to depend wholly upon their own unaided intuitions and so lost the balancing and enlarging knowledge that comes through the whole community. But for the most part institutional Christianity has inherited all that is finest in Quakerism, Pietism, and Methodism. It has learned that outward institutions are a help to life just in so far as they are kept wide open to the Spirit of God, that through them, or in any other way pleasing to Him, He may bring to the heart of man the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

VI

In these revivals of the spiritual life the emphasis was nearly always upon the individual, sometimes upon the individual only. There have been other movements in recent times which indicate that the divine influence has been exerted upon men to make them see that spiritual life must increase not only in the individual, but in the larger groups of humanity,

even in all humanity gathered, as it were, into one universal personality. The rise of this tendency in modern life can be traced through tiny courses to a time long before the nineteenth century, but it will be clearer if I select a few of the larger contributions to the movement since the year 1800.

(1) One indication of the larger spiritual outlook was the enormous popularity of the novels of Walter Scott. The historical scholar now thinks them little short of criminal because they are full of bad history; but the impression which they made upon the early nineteenth century was that it would have been altogether delightful to live in the days of Ivanhoe and Quentin Durward. People began to have the passion of the antiquarian: old things made a greater appeal than new. The same attitude was shown when the readers of Scott discovered that the Gothic cathedrals were beautiful. They had been neglected along with Shakespeare and some other things. Christopher Wren's churches, Pope's poetry, and formal Italian gardens had been preferred. But now the Gothic began to take hold of people's imaginations. They studied it, they restored it, they found in it the very atmosphere of devotion and worship.

This may seem a slight phenomenon, but it was to mean much before it had worked itself far into the life of the people. Individualism and provincialism were slipping away; there was entering a disposition to consult other ages before deciding what was interesting or lovely. Something more than private judgment was good for a man. He might test his own standards by the standards of the ages.

(2) Then came a revival of the Church Idea. A good illustration of it was the Tractarian Movement in

England with its picturesque episodes and its engaging leaders. The doctrine of Apostolic Succession was explained: not only was an officer of the Church immediately called by the Holy Spirit and by Him commissioned, but to be validly recognized by the Church an officer must also be commissioned by those who could trace their commissions in turn, step by step, back to the Apostles, who were commissioned by Christ. The Tractarians set about making a new translation of the early Fathers. They were not satisfied with only the thought and the customs which had prevailed since Cranmer's day: they were especially interested in the fourth century, and wished to be assured that they had its ecclesiastical aroma. They did not attempt a reconstruction of an earlier Christianity, largely because they were not capable of attacking a problem quite so difficult as this, — a task at length to be undertaken by such men as Lightfoot and Professor Gwatkin in England, Professor Harnack in Germany, and Monseigneur Duchesne in France. Meanwhile the successors of the Tractarians (if they may be said to have had successors) became almost exclusively interested in the Mediæval Church. The exact age to which the appeal was made is not so important as the fact that a certain time remote from their own was chosen. This meant that though they used their private judgment, they used it only in relation to a more nearly universal judgment in the long history of the Church. They appealed to the Bible as the Reformers appealed to it, but they added that no man might frame his own interpretation of its meaning: the Church must give the authoritative interpretation. This was primarily accomplished in the creeds; but the early General Councils and the

consensus of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers came close to the authority of the creeds. It was a great issue for which the Tractarians were contending: it was the Church Idea.

When Newman left the Tractarian Movement it never quite recovered its old enthusiasm. The growth of the Church Idea largely passed into others' hands. Maurice enriched it by adding spiritual conceptions: being familiar not only with Christian theology but also with an extended range of philosophy, he brought to bear upon the subject a well-furnished and broadly sympathetic mind. His admiration for the Quakers prophesied that he must include in the Kingdom of God all temperaments, all races, all ages. His language by its very fulness is difficult; but for those who have patience it is illuminating.[1] To him the Church was both visible and invisible. Robertson of Brighton, with a genius for harmonizing paradoxes, found room for the institutional and the mystical in his idea of the Church. And an American pupil of Maurice, A. V. G. Allen, in his *Continuity of Christian Thought* suggested the double inheritance of every modern Christian, in the solidifying law of the Latins and in the free spirit of the Greeks.

The Church Idea has received in these last years emphasis from many and diverse quarters. One feels it in the Church of Scotland; one sees it in newer divisions of Christians like the "Disciples";[2] one finds it in those who have never definitely associated themselves with organic Christianity, but who are impelled

[1] For an instance of Maurice's influence upon his own immediate circle see *The Life of Octavia Hill.*

[2] Dr. Peter Ainslie, *The Message of the Disciples for the Union of the Church.*

to study its appeal.[1] The limits of the Church are variously defined. Submission to the Roman See defines Church membership for the Roman Catholic. The High Anglican, though scorned by the Roman and only patronized by the Greek Church, includes in the Church three divisions, — Anglican, Roman, and Greek. Most Anglican Churchmen would be less rigid, asserting that the Church includes all who are baptized in the Name of the Trinity, only some are living in divisions of the Church which are irregular in ministry and ordinances: they do not dare to say that these ministries and ordinances are invalid, because their fruits are too evident, frequently outstripping the more regular forms of Church government and usage. Then there are people who think more vaguely of the Church, making it the imaginary union of all the disconnected organizations and individuals who love our Saviour in sincerity; thus they are content to have no closer articulation than we now have. But, however men define the Church, they are less and less inclined to speak of Churches. They are looking towards the great all-inclusive Church. They are gaining the vision of organic unity, — not a unity of the legalist which will cramp and stifle, but a unity of the Free Spirit of God which will bring men the love and strength of one another, with a tolerance of all human saintliness whatever its form, and a concentration upon the essentials.

While we value and shall value the outward assembly of the saints (that is, all those who are baptized in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost), and while we give our loyalty to one polity as "regular" or "valid" in distinction from others which

[1] *E.g.*, Professor Royce, in his *Problems of Christianity*.

may seem to us "irregular" or "invalid," an increasing number of us, from Roman Catholic to Puritan, are wondering if there may not be within the outward Church a Church Invisible, bound together by the fellowship of the unseen Spirit of the Living God, which, so far from discounting the visible Church, is rather its life and its glory. In congregations and in councils these are the men through whom the Spirit works: these are the elect. The Holy Catholic Church of the Creed in which we express our belief beckons us to the heights of imagination and achievement.

In whatever form the Church Idea may come, whether it be the severe concept of the Ultramontane, the happier concept of the Churchman, or the less definite concept of the man who is ever saying to himself, "The things that are not seen are eternal," it is like a new gift of the Holy Spirit for our time. The Voice which comes to the individual must be heard and obeyed by the individual; but the individual, having merged his individualism in the great body of Christian men everywhere and always, must, as part of that universal organism, listen to the Voice that speaks to the whole body of believers. Then he will be glad to obey commands of fuller and richer content than the individual man can hear. What some of these commands are I shall describe in the last section of this chapter:[1] I believe the obedience to them is due to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit who is in our day planting in the hearts of men a larger Idea of the Church, which demands and receives an unparalleled loyalty.

(3) Abstract thought does not lag behind æstheticism and religion in its recognition of the historical

[1] See below, § VII., pp. 241 ff.

principle. The philosopher is no longer satisfied to rely on his private judgment of the truth. He reverts to the past, he faces the East and the West, and with outstretched arms asks confirmation of the idea which seems to him true. The lust for new truth is lost in the desire to unearth eternal truth. Therefore the shelves of libraries are crowded with the histories of philosophy. The myths and the legends, which show the almost unconscious thought of primitive ages, are reverently assembled and explained. The ponderous volumes of Professor Frazer's *Golden Bough* are a brilliant sign of the times. It irritates Christian people to see quite so many unqualified seekers for truth, neglecting the truth of their own inheritance for a desultory wandering through the theologies and philosophies of Asia; but this too is characteristic of the last hundred years. When men think, or try to think, they wish to be immersed in the thought of the ages.

Nor are histories of philosophy with numerous readers the only outward evidence of this mood in modern life. The original production of the philosophical scholar is now almost always prefaced by an historical survey, leading up to his own adventure; quite often half of the book, or more, is devoted to the tracing of the idea through the past. The modesty and reverence of the great modern thinkers is an impressive note. The assumption and cocksureness of the occasional leader of thought immediately reduce his influence among his brethren. There is a great deal in philosophy which owns no conscious allegiance to orthodox theology; but there is very much which subconsciously appears to be built upon the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The seeker for truth is no longer an individual; he gladly loses himself in a mighty

company; and so he enters through the world-self who is also the world-seeker into the universal element of Truth, — the Source, personal and concrete, loving and beloved, — the Truth Himself, the Holy Spirit. Once more we believe that we see His work, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

(4) The idea of a universal Church definitely embracing all who obey the Spirit of God has its counterpart in what, for convenience, we call the secular world. The unifying of the people in modern nations, which had its most signal impetus during the period of the Reformation, has proceeded steadily within the last three centuries. The nations which are most advanced in civilization are the nations where democracy has conquered. Feudalism and absolutism have been exchanged for the general distribution of privilege and responsibility. This change has sometimes come suddenly as in the French Revolution, or gradually as in the series of English Reform Laws. The nation has become a sacred enthusiasm second only to loyalty to God, because all the people have recognized that the nation is of them, for them, and by them. It is not the property of rulers or of a class, however noble. Every man in a nation ought to be a patriot; and a patriot is only the nation-in-the-small. He is the essential factor which makes the nation what it is.

When Abraham Lincoln was given his task he saw that he was not appointed, first of all, to set free the slaves; his paramount duty was to to keep his nation one. A host of Americans thought that it made little difference whether the North and the South remained together, or set up separate governments. It was Lincoln's greatness that he expressed the genuis of the age for nationality. Had Lincoln been another

Napoleon, deliberating upon a personal empire, the case would have been different. He was not a conqueror; he was an officer of the people, temporarily serving them, and it was his lot to hold all together who were bound by a common inheritance under a common flag, that in the end there should not be some ruling all, but the people of both North and South should rule together over the assembled rights of the whole people. Lincoln has often been called the typical American; he was much more, he was the typical citizen of the world in his generation. He stood for the integrity of the nation.

The Prussian victory over the divisions of Germany completely effected through the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was only partly national. A cruel military despotism, controlled by a few, and not the whole people, was the ideal that was fostered and has been fostered till the European War of 1914 broke out. Every patriotic American must hope that when the war is ended, Germany will become a real nation with a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

But we are clearly passing through nationalism to a higher unity. The attempts to secure universal peace through arbitration seem to be mocked by the horrors of a barbaric European war, of which even the dark ages might have been ashamed. The hope of the Christian is that the Holy Spirit may overrule the miseries of this War to bring in a new world, in which nations shall not cease to be, but in which nations shall become conscious parts of some larger whole, a federation of nations, perhaps, as the United States is a federation of Commonwealths and States. As Christians we know that it is contrary to our com-

mission to talk of the peril of the Slav or of the Japanese, lest swarms of Eastern people overwhelm our boasted civilization. We are not aliens one to another. We are all children of the same Father, brethren of the same Christ, sanctified by the same Spirit. Not by force, not by might, but by God's Spirit is the real conquest. Rome, by armies, made slaves of the Greeks; and these Greek slaves thereupon taught the Roman lads the sparkling lessons of Greece; and thereby, in a far higher sense, Greece made slaves of the Romans. There is no peril which hordes of lesser peoples can bring to us if we have in our souls the quality of true, Christ-filled, and therefore great, men. Whatever armies and guns can do, the soul, by the majesty of its strength, will conquer at last. And the Holy Spirit, having put His power to the work, will not be turned back. Despots, benevolent or military, smiling or frowning, bestowing favours not theirs to give or destroying property and life not theirs to take, are steadily being doomed by the God of long-suffering and patience. They will pass, and the true democracy will as steadily increase its bounds. Demagogues and thieves will prey upon its edges, but they too will pass. Nations will try to hate nations, upon pretexts salient or trifling, but that hate will pass also. For the Spirit of God will overflow all obstacles. He will govern in the hearts of those who are His; and these men of the power which cannot be seen, banded together out of all nations and races and languages, will rule. And the Prince of Peace shall be crowned at last by the nations as well as by the individual saints.

The question will surely be asked if this is not the ideal of the papacy. Yes, one may answer, but with

a strategic difference. The papacy tried to unite the world under a tyrannical dictatorship. When the new unity comes it will be such a unity as Abraham Lincoln would have approved: there will be a world of the people governed by the people and for the people. And the Spirit of God and of His Christ shall rule in the hearts of these people, and therefore in the heart of the world, for ever and ever.

VII

All these reflections may seem to depend a good deal on theory. We have been examining tendencies which need the future as well as the past to round out their perfect story. There are, however, fruits of this unifying process, through which the Holy Spirit has been leading the world; and these fruits can be seen by any man, and minutely described. These fruits are the result of a new emphasis in the lives of the best men. Once the best men, or those who seemed best to their generation, dropped all obligations, to save their own souls. Charles V put aside his responsibility to his kingdom and his empire, and went into a monastery. The Calvinist almost gloated over his confidence in his own election, though he was assured that nearly all his friends were eternally damned: no one thought him selfish; only very religious and praiseworthy did he seem. John Henry Newman said that the only facts luminously clear to him were God and his own soul. Now this is all changed. We call Charles V in his snug cloister a coward; we call the complacent Calvinist a Pharisee; and we turn Newman's maxim about and say, The only facts luminously clear to *us* are God and our

neighbours. Some theologians are worried because good men no longer seem anxious about their individual salvation: they either take it too easily for granted, or do not think about it at all. Without being too optimistic, one may ask whether possibly the good men of these last years have not been taking to heart the words of the Saviour, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it."[1]

(1) The world has a new Social Conscience. We must not be dismayed because this conscience is partly, or even largely, subliminal, showing its results in individual enterprise and in limited groups, and apparently only forcing the world into its sanctions. For the subliminal part of the world is, as in the case of the individual, the most important part. A few illustrations will demonstrate what I mean. The French court of the eighteenth century seemed to satisfy the élite of France: only the downtrodden peasants seemed to groan. But as we, from a distance, survey the French Revolution and its attending events, we now know that subconscious France, the real France which made its great past and shall make its great future, was aghast at the selfishness, waste, and wickedness of gay Paris and Versailles. The coarse and cruel buffoonery of the Revolution was an exact reaction from the coarse and cruel buffoonery of the regal court. Thinly disguised by poverty on one side and by extravagance on the other, both were quite alike, one may think, in the sight of the Eternal. Those who were conscious of eternal values no doubt shuddered at the guillotine and other excrescences of the popular wrath, but

[1] *St. Matthew* xvi, 25.

deep down in their hearts they knew that they, the wise and the good, could not dare to defend the old régime, lest they defend that which the Will of God had doomed.

The American Colonies in their weakness wrenched themselves free from the strength of Great Britain, because the heart and soul of England sympathized with the contention of the Colonists. The English Reformed Corn Laws were supported by men who in a worldly way were pinched by them, because the English conscience recognized that they were right. Again, the time seems to be passing when Europe will allow the unspeakable Turk, for alleviating political reasons, to murder Armenian Christians in cold blood. The European conscience is becoming more sensitive. When Germany, resting in its huge armaments, entered into the War of 1914, the Emperor took pains to tell the world the reasons why war seemed to Germany a necessary result of a certain tense situation. The world was incredulous, not trusting either the sincerity or the judgment of the Emperor's reasons; but it was significant that a power which relied on force should attempt to display its conscience. The war-lords of the past never explained: might to them was right. The world today can and will visit upon a bad and selfish policy more than physical conquest: the world will visit upon the ruler or the nation which offends the conscience of the world a scorn and a contempt which will be more withering than the worst fire of lead and powder. Battles in God's world, as the Holy Spirit fills its conscience more and more, will be won less and less by the merely physically strong: the cry of one little child who is on God's side will do more to

turn the critical moment than the armed millions who dare to thwart Him. Men are increasingly aware of the unseen armaments, created by human consciences, which go out to every battle for righteousness.

Most civilized countries are facing a radical propaganda of Socialism. In democratic countries like America and England little harm is apt to be done by Socialism, because the mass of the people are sensitive to any appeal to right, and though the process of reform may be slow, the intelligence of democracy will gradually attain the reforms of which a national conscience approves. But in countries where a few men bear sway and where consequently democracy is weak, the Socialists are sure to come to rough blows with the authorities; and because men with vested interests, traditionally opposed to any degree of Socialism, will be conscience-stricken over the inequalities of life, there will therefore be strange allies in the battle. One sees the same thing in a small way in any parish: the people who most resent slighting words or acts concerning the less prosperous members of the parish are not the poor themselves: the indignation will be most heavily from the most prosperous, the people whom an outsider would think would care least.

In ways like these we discover in the modern world a new Social Conscience. It seems often to be far removed from any religious impulse. But to one who looks narrowly at history it seems to be part of a long process. In the world as in the individual the sense of right and wrong has been planted. What is new in the world-conscience of these later years is that men and classes of men are steadily looking away from their own prerogatives and are contemplating the rights and the happiness of others. One

might say that it is only an example of blind human evolution; but it is more rationally understood if we conceive that it is due to the fostering care of the Holy Spirit.

(2) Charity and the giving of alms are as old as human need, but there has been a new form of charity in modern times. Lowell's Sir Launfal began his search for the Holy Grail by flinging a bit of gold to a beggar outside his castle gate. That was the old charity. When Sir Launfal came back, worn and poor, he shared his last crust with this beggar: he became a beggar, as it were, that he might help. That is modern charity. The reader may say that this, being the shadow of the Incarnation, cannot be modern; but one may answer that the world discovers with strange reluctance the applications of the Life of the Perfect Man.

The phenomenal growth of the modern city has made the contrasts between rich and poor more startling than ever before. Palaces line one street; a few blocks away men live in herds like cattle. There was the same contrast, perhaps, in the castles of the old world, with the crowded village just outside the gates of the park. But both had fresh air and the peace and beauty of the open country. Good men are not so willing, as once they were, to say, "Thank God for poverty!" They are not quite satisfied to have some men starving while they are feasting. The constant sight of strained faces telling of hunger and worry makes the man of the city think about his obligations. Misery is not a theory to him; he sees it.

Social settlements, religious and secular, are the symbol of the new charity. Toynbee Hall in London,

Hull House in Chicago, the East Side settlements of great parishes in New York, and the Salvation Army everywhere, show that good men with ability to help do not intend to give money so much as themselves. There is much testing of methods, there is experiment, there is courageous failure, and there is abundant hope. Statistics can tell little in such a crusade. The man who really cares can tell by the changed faces of a neighbourhood what a social settlement is accomplishing. Diligent observation would bring to one's notice the new acts of heroism, chivalry, and unselfishness in the people of these jostling throngs. The friend of the street could discover a new fortitude in trouble, a new ideal in struggle. And then the loving critic would ask where all these changes arose. No fine houses for settlements or clubs or churches could account for them; no paraphernalia of equipment; no picnics and excursions and entertainments; no paying of house-rent or doles of charity. No, the real solution is deeper. There have been people of the finest grade, in character and in cultivation, giving not their money only but themselves to these people of less fortunate inheritance and environment. They have lived in these settlement houses, not as visitors, but as fellow citizens of the street, friends, neighbours. If they have not been able to spend all their time, they have spent as much of their time as they could just there. And they have not been pompous examples or patronizing advisers; they have been as much part of the district as the lamp-posts and the pavements. People knew that they belonged there.

A recent book on pastoral care calls this, "conversion by contagion." Describing a clergyman with

this ideal, the author says, "If you came too near him, you got religion, as from another sort you may get the measles. When one thinks of it, that is how we get most things, like good manners or a panic; we catch them from some one. Now I believe this is how we clergy are to convert people: we must have Christianity in ourselves, then come near people and give it them. Conversion by contagion is the best name I can find for it."[1] A good deal of this help by contact has had religion for its motive; a good deal has been religious in only a subliminal way. Good men with little conscious religious feeling have longed to be practical in their benevolence; and this seemed the way of reality. Even religious settlements have sometimes made little of religious expression, lest they drive away people of the utmost need who would be repelled by a religious expression different from their inherited prepossession. The ruling idea of every vital social settlement is the fulfilment of the divine commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself:" it demonstrates that rich men can be neighbours to the poor.

It would be a mistake to think that this quality is shown only in social settlements. The spirit of it is in all sorts of homes. A considerable number of people have no other vocation than to give themselves to others, and the beauty of this service is that it is done so simply that no one pauses to speak of it. The poor man takes into his home the child of a dying neighbour and thenceforth feeds and clothes this child as if it were his own. The prosperous woman puts first in her engagements the direction of a day nursery, by which not only a few mothers are taught

[1] J. H. Skrine, *Pastor Futurus*, pp. 111 f.

to care properly for their babies, but through the "contagion" of these nursery mothers the mothers of a whole section are learning the same high art.

An instructive instance of this neighbourliness is seen in the eagerness of English bishops today to be rid of their palaces and parks. It is not a mere concession to democratic and socialistic suggestions. These men desire to be among the people as no fifteenth or seventeenth century bishop ever dreamed that a bishop could wish. And the desire does not end in the vapour of talk. Episcopal palaces are being sold, their owners are gladly moving into smaller houses among other houses, and the money gained by the sale is turned over to endow new bishoprics, thereby increasing the human equipment. In France, even the Louvre, Versailles, and Fontainebleau have become the playgrounds of the whole people, while the ruler of France lives modestly in dignified simplicity; but the ruler was not the first to think of the change. The impressive contrast is that the English bishops themselves for their own happiness reduced their state. Archbishop Temple sold Addington and with the result of the sale rebuilt the Archbishop's Palace in Canterbury, snugly among the people. When asked if he thought his successors would like to live there, he said, "No: but I mean to make them." The old Archbishop was modern, and in so far as his successors are modern men they will thank him for his deed. The story is told of an English bishop who, upon his election, went back to his old parishioners in East London to receive their congratulations. His happiness had been his simple life at their doors, and he dreaded the pomp attaching to a bishop who is also an important officer of the

state. "I tried to avoid riding in a carriage: I should prefer to ride in a 'bus. But they told me that I must ride in a carriage. So I know only one way out of it: when you see me riding in my carriage, if you will hold up your hand, I'll stop and give you a 'lift.'" That is a new note: the note of a new kind of responsibility for the less fortunate.

The religious man says that all this is a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit. And it is certainly a religious emotion that catches at one's heartstrings when one reads of the crowds of people who followed the dead body of General Booth or the dead body of Father Dolling. Humanity can praise only God for such neighbours of the people as these. They are a manifestation of the brooding Spirit in modern life. And a similar emotion touched all men as they read that among his last words the late Pope, Pius X, said, "I was born poor; I lived poor; and I want to die poor." He was asking for simplicity in his burial. It was a strange sound in his gorgeous surroundings, in the magnificence of the Vatican. They were words of a religious and simple old man, unspoiled by riches and honour; but they were also the word of a new age. The man whose heart broke the sooner because he heard daily of the death of poor soldiers, wished to be identified with his poorest friends in the symbols of his farewell to the world. Perhaps he would have been even happier had it been his lot to live in some little Italian village, the poor priest of a few of God's dear poor.

(3) The last note of the new responsibility for others is Missions. The discovery of America had brought the Jesuit missionaries to New France, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed

to send missionaries to the English colonies; but with the nineteenth century a missionary movement was started which brought practically all Christian communities into its enthusiasm. It began with the thought of rescuing those who might perish everlastingly if the Gospel were not preached to them. With a larger trust in God's love for all His children, His pity for their ignorance, and His perpetual care for them everywhere, the motive somewhat changed. The missionary longs to do good to men in this life, that for this world as well as the next, for their children as well as for themselves, there may come salvation. So there are hospitals and schools as well as churches; and above all there are men and women of character and ability who give themselves to be friends, unconscious centres of loving help. Whereas the movement was once rather frantic and visionary, it is now thoroughly sane with all its heroic sacrifice and hope. The men who work hardest in this effort have the dream that within a very short time every man in the world will have had a real chance to understand the glory and the joy of being a disciple of Christ. He may decide that he will not be a disciple, but he can have the materials for a personal decision.

There is here not only the picture of men going out to be neighbours, but the picture of men daring to set no limit to the neighbourhood. You can see with your eyes the need of the people who brush by you on the street; but it requires imagination to perceive the need of the Chinaman and the African. The whole man is interested in the depressed people of his city and also in the discouraged people in central Africa. The illuminating feature of Missions

is that it arouses men to be loyal to the round world. Nothing ought to give such a blow to the isolation of individualism as the desire to make every man really a member of every other man till the whole world is consciously the body of Christ. It is the door through which Church unity will come, for the world will be one in Him. Missions is the Church in love with the whole world. When all the weary men learn to come to Him who will give them rest, the gratitude of a responsive love will kindle the love of the suspicious and the hard and the official; the barriers will fall; and there will be one Church of God everywhere. Just when this will be, we cannot venture to think. But as we trust in the Holy Spirit guiding the whole Church, we know that He who has guided the Church hitherto, will guide it unto the end. He being in all the members of the Church will in Himself make the unity.

XI

"MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE GLORY OF THE COMING OF THE LORD"

HAVING attempted the bold outlines of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the more familiar aspects of history, we may now attempt to select the salient features of that manifestation, as they apply, or ought to apply, to our own living. For I have written these pages with a purpose wholly practical.

I

First, we may lay hold of a definition to describe our ordinary thinking. We discover that we speak of the presence of the Divine sometimes as the Father, sometimes as the Word or Christ, sometimes as the Holy Spirit. We are perplexed and often worried because we cannot more sharply distinguish between them. The reassuring message of theology through the ages is that we ought not, in our approach to God, to make the distinctions absolute; not because we may not think of the existing distinctions in the Godhead, but because to us the love of the Persons for one another is conceived to be such that in Each, visiting us, the other Persons are always present. Or we may seize upon more exact words, and say that only through the Holy Spirit do we have the Father and the Son; and that, moreover, in the Holy

Spirit we always have the Father and the Son. The Holy Spirit is not a mere breath from God, an angelic messenger, a substitute for God; but the Holy Spirit is God bringing to us the wholeness and perfection of the Divine Friendship. Our life is "from and unto the Father, through the Son, by the Spirit."

As I have before pointed out,[1] we reach often the soundest definitions by reflecting upon the recurring heresies of the Church. For a recurring heresy stands for a truth so insistent that it survives in spite of its one-sidedness and partial error. Such tenacious heresies are, for instance, Pantheism or Polytheism on one side and Deism on the other. Instead of declaring these all false, we may say that taken together and harmonized, — the truth of one correcting the error in the other, — they are all true. So orthodox theology speaks of the Divine Transcendence and the Divine Immanence, of the Unity of God and the Trinity of God. In these fundamental doctrines, which are extremely practical for our every-day living, we find that the personality of the Holy Spirit is a vital article of our faith. The Holy Spirit is the Uniting Love of the Transcendent God, making the Perfect Social Consciousness which is eternal in the heavens, the mutual and complete love before the world was. From this Perfect Social Consciousness humanity has its source and thither tends, since humanity is made in the Divine Image, and cannot rest till it is found in God. As the Holy Spirit is the uniting personality of the Transcendent God, so the Spirit is also the uniting personality in humanity; for living in each man born into the world, — from man's point of view, either subconsciously or consciously, — and

[1] See above, p. 124.

being the very bond of love, He must bring the deepest in one man into union with the deepest in every other man. It is the Divine Immanence of which we think chiefly when we speak of the Holy Spirit, for by His perpetual indwelling in humanity, the world is full of God. But we ought to think of the Holy Spirit equally in our visions of the Divine Transcendence, for both by human logic and by our intuitions, we are sure that He is the joy of the Father and the Son in the Divine Unity.

Whether we think of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father through the Son, or from the Father and the Son equally, whether, with the Greek Church, we emphasize the fact that the Father is the only Source of Life, or, with the West, we emphasize the fact that the Spirit of God in humanity, in the Incarnate Son, is altogether the Spirit of God, we must in any case feel that the Holy Spirit brings to us the love of the Father and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Spirit of the Father is the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit of Christ is the Holy Spirit, and there is one only Spirit; by whom we are bound to one another, in whom we are united to the whole Life of God.

II

Man's constant search for infallibility outside the Life of God is full of instruction, because a glance at history shows how, at every step, this search has been thwarted. The decision of a General Council was once looked upon as a means of conveniently discovering the absolute truth. When some men were doubtful of the validity of General Councils, an infallible Pope was deemed a suitable organ of final

truth, that men might turn to him and know. When other men distrusted both Council and Pope there was a turning towards the Bible, and that was made the infallible guide. Here, however, there was a division. Part of those who were dissatisfied with the authority of Council and Pope maintained that through the Holy Spirit each man could interpret the Bible for himself, while others said that only when the Church interpreted the Bible could it give an infallible assurance. In these last years, through modern criticism, a great many intelligent people say that the Bible, though never more authoritative than today, cannot be called infallible in any outward or mechanical way. Whether these people are right or not, they do not find infallibility in Institution or in Book.

We may look at these various overturnings of man's attempt to find in some outward institution an infallible guide, either as the result of a malign force, or as the beneficent work of the Holy Spirit. If we see the deliberate process working out through Christian history, and if we believe that Christian history is God's, then we have no alternative: we know by the constant breakdown of the supposed infallibility of these institutions that God does not mean man to depend on any infallible outward thing.

The reason for this, we may think, is twofold. First, God abundantly shows us by His dealings with us that He does not intend life to be easy. It is full of difficulties to be overcome or transcended. Every one of us has hardship, pain, sorrow; and some of us, not infrequently the best of us, have these burdens in crushing abundance. It is difficult both to do right and to think right. We do not under-

stand why our course has been as it is; we cannot explain God or ourselves. These are facts, and since they attach to every man's circumstances, we are forced to believe that God meant them to be just what they are. The second reason why it might be said that God does not allow us any convenient outward infallible guide, which we could consult, as a traveller consults his time-card, is that, if we had such an outward infallible guide, we should have less than the best. By refusing us all infallible standards in institutions and men, God drives us to the highest: we are bidden, by the cruel facts, to go directly to the Spirit of the Living God, when we are in the darkness and desire the infallible light upon our path. Instead of infallibility the Holy Spirit gives us each moment, if we will have it, the guidance of His presence and of His love. He is the only way to the Truth.

This is not to say that the Councils are not important guides: in so far as the members of Councils assembled with the deliberate casting aside of their own preconceived notions and prayed to be guided by the Holy Spirit, they were filled with the Holy Spirit, and the united Council was so filled. Consequently the Voice of the Council was the Voice of the Holy Spirit, though mediated through the necessarily imperfect human elements; and the Church and individuals were reassured and comforted. In the same way, an officer of the Church — whether Pope of Christendom or pastor of a little wayside flock — may, if he be humble enough and simple enough and good enough, cast aside his own ideas and prejudices, and, praying earnestly, may receive for those over whom he is set in the Lord a message from the Holy

Spirit. So the Bible, being the inspired record through human instrumentalities of God's message to peoples and to individuals of the past, is more and more the medium of the Voice of the Holy Spirit to the Church and to Nations and to individuals; provided all these make their hearts attentive and seek to know what the Holy Spirit shall *now* speak to them through the words of the ancient record. We must hold the Church and the Bible in the most reverent honour. They are God's gifts for our help. They are wonderful vehicles of grace. But when they are made to seem outwardly and mechanically infallible, when they are made in themselves the last resort, then they block the way to the highest. Then God will lower them, that He may surely give us what is highest of all — the Voice of the Holy Spirit to the Church and to the individuals of our own day. And this is not to be in any formal, merely institutional way. It is to be no mere repetition of an old utterance or an old record, however nearly infallible in and for its day. It is to be directly and afresh; everything, though old, will quiver with the present divine energy. We forget the means of our knowledge. We know only that God, in and by His Holy Spirit, has spoken; and we live in the joy of His companionship and leadership.

People are often confused by the proved marks of fallibility in sacred institutions. Discovering the fallibility they are prone to discard the institution, whatever it may be, as worthless, as lacking the divine sanction which it assumed to have. All this is folly. The sacred institutions of the Christian past are never so much God's as when men discover that they cannot stand of themselves. Every one of them

needs God, who through the Holy Spirit wills to be present always with His children. The holiest word of Christ, assuredly most accurately transmitted to us through the years, is not complete till we have shut our eyes, and with all our hearts and minds have listened; whereupon, we hear the old sentence which was uttered centuries ago, said anew and directly to us by the Spirit of the present Christ, — the Christ who never ceases to be a yearning brother to humanity. Thus even when to scholars the history of the Christ of Palestine seems difficult to understand, when He seems to be clothed with shadows so that they despair of knowing exactly how to distinguish His beloved face, then, if they are religious men, these scholars are driven to seek the living Christ, and through His inestimable and direct gift they return to the records, and, by a sense higher than the historical and the critical, they know that the New Testament is a book on which they may rely. Timid Christians wring their hands forasmuch as succeeding ages must pass through these vicissitudes: they think faith is slipping out of the world. But it is not. God is simply arousing men who have grown satisfied with a formal faith. He gives them instead a living faith, — a faith consciously received from the Holy Spirit. Thenceforth men long, not for infallibility, but for God.

III

One learns from history that there is a constant swaying from individualism to solidarity, and from solidarity back to individualism. St. Paul, being commissioned by the immediate Christ on the Da-

mascus road, knew that his authority to be an Apostle was complete;[1] nevertheless later he took counsel with the other Apostles.[2] Again, when Peter, the leader and representative of the Apostles, pursued a narrow policy with regard to Gentile Christians, Paul withstood him to the face;[3] but even with the assurance of his individual conscience, Paul was willing to submit his contention to the Council at Jerusalem, and there his individual conviction was confirmed by the Church.[4] So in the middle ages Scholasticism and Mysticism were set off against one another; so in the sixteenth century the conscience of one man faced the conscience of imperial ecclesiasticism; so, later still, the Quaker faced the Churchman. All these are phases of a perpetual movement, proclaiming two necessary ideas. One is that the Holy Spirit, speaking to the individual conscience, demands that the individual shall confirm his individual message by a reference to the message which comes to the whole Church. The other necessary idea is that the Holy Ghost, speaking to the conscience of the corporate Church, demands that the Church shall confirm, and if necessary cleanse, its corporate message by a reference to the message which comes to the individual soul. It may be too much to expect the world to keep this balance exact; the weight of emphasis will be now on this side, now on that. But God will not allow the scales to be long tipped on either side. The necessary idea on one side will presently outweigh the necessary idea that attempts to survive without its complement. The Holy Spirit speaks both to the individual and to humanity; and

[1] *Galatians* i, 12, 16, 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 1, 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 11.
[4] *Acts* xv, 4, 28.

history shows that it is the Divine Will that each should find the whole message in the words spoken to both.

The individual is apt to dwell on his rights. It is vastly more important that he dwell on his responsibility. He can never lose his right to hear the Inner Voice; he may easily neglect his privilege to listen. Having chosen an authority outside himself, he may become complacent in its convenience, cease to take trouble to know for himself the best course or even the just course, and allow the general witness to nullify the witness that he may at any moment find in his own heart. Thus we may imagine that the Spanish inquisitors, obeying what they thought a message to the Church, crushed every impulse which told them individually to remember the gentleness and forbearance of Christ. A man in our own time may give his assent to a creed without any attempt to love God with his individual mind. Such a man has no right to cast vitriolic speeches at a neighbour who doubts or even denies an article of that creed: his neighbour may be quite mistaken and foolish, but he has more faith than the man who never trusts himself to think about his creed in any way.

On the other hand, history tells us plainly what happens to the man who believes that he is sufficient of himself to know all truth. The mystics of the mediæval period, assuming to know individually the will of God, without regard to His message to the Christian community, lapsed at times into gross license in the Name of the Lord. Claus Storch and the other Zwickau prophets, intoxicated by what they believed divine inspiration, refused to hear the officers of the Church or to be guided by the Bible.

Even Luther could not hold them in reason. In their madness they appealed to the sword, and thousands of German peasants perished. The line between a fanatic and a hero is often difficult to draw; but it is safe to say that a hero stands for the truth as he sees it, after he has consulted both his own heart and the larger Christian conscience which surrounds him. He may find that these two consciences do not agree. Thereupon he must decide which is right, the community or the individual. Generally he will find that if his own conscience is clear and unselfish, there will be at least a larger conscience than his own agreeing with him, even if it be not the conscience of the whole people. Luther at Worms was not quite alone: as he stood before emperor and princes and bishops, and felt them against him, he must have remembered the strained and loving faces that looked up into his as he made his way to the city. He prayed before his open Bible, and God spoke to him directly; — he remembered these faces, and God spoke to him out of the conscience of the common people of Germany. The appeal outside one's own life, as well as within it, is essential to a sane judgment of the right. The smaller the community to whom the appeal is made, the sterner is the heroism of the lonely soul.

Although one must have one's own ideas about the quality and extent of the community to whose conscience appeal is made, the first principle to grasp is that there shall be an appeal to the conscience of some group outside one's self. While Christendom is divided, and while a large part of the world is less than Christian, the appeal cannot easily be to the conscience of all humanity; though

sometimes it may be so, in imagination at least. For in a moment of rage a man may think that his conscience tells him to be a brute, till his instinct warns him that the contemplated deed is inhuman. In that moment his private conscience is corrected by the conscience of humanity. In so far as a man thinks of himself as citizen, patriot, Churchman, Christian, or man, he is forced, by the very thinking, to appeal to the widening circles for which each of these loyalties stands.

We think of the Holy Spirit as living in the Church. In the Holy Spirit we are members one of another. In every great service of the Church, — Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion, Ordination, — the Holy Spirit is invoked. By Him we are incorporated, through Baptism, into the spiritual body of Christ. By Him, the officers of the Church are, through Ordination, endowed with the power to serve men, somewhat as Christ served them; or, by faith in Him and by complete surrender to Him, they are able to let Christ continue, through them, His ministry of sacrifice and love. But the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper most clearly suggests the immanence of the Holy Spirit in all things animate and inanimate. We must assume that our Lord said the words of institution in Aramaic. We know that the Aramaic has no copula, so that His words would have been the same ("This my body"), whether His meaning was, "This is identified with my body," or, "This signifies my body." To the Oriental mind there is no difference, for the symbols are, in any case, pledges of Christ's perpetual presence; and that is what devout men have always craved. Professor Ramsay has pointed out that the Oriental view is the view of

a child who, taking a few stones, builds them up, and says, "This is a castle, and this is a knight riding to attack it." The child does not treat the stones as mere symbols, nor does he think that they are transmuted into a castle and a knight. "To the child they are what the child makes them," continues Dr. Ramsay. "As the child lives his ideal life, which we call 'play,' these material objects become part of his higher life, and are what the things of that life are. The idea is all powerful: the material fact is of no consequence. The child is right, and the Oriental is right. The idea is the important thing: the material is nought."[1] The Oriental prolongs his childhood,[2] the European and his connections cut it off and make all literal and hard, — and unreal. Bearing this in mind, we see that in the eternal child-likeness of Jesus He would make the whole world sacramental. The Spirit can make everything into Christ for those who have the will to receive Him.

Thus through the thought of the Church and the Sacraments we attain to the thought of the World Spirit, the Invisible Church, the conscience of humanity. This seems to me the union of all the bases of the subliminal consciousnesses of individuals. We must call this explanation only an hypothesis; and yet it explains so much in our experience that we are forced to yield to it a large measure of probability. In exalted moments when we are joined with Christ and all the saints in the Holy Communion, or when we stand in a placid scene and gaze off towards the distant mountains bathed in the glory of evening, or when we feel the thrill of a sacred friendship, then

[1] *Expository Times*, vol. xxi, p. 516. *Cf.* Comment by Dr. W. M. Groton, *The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults*, pp. 142 ff.

[2] For a vivid example, *cf.* Tagore's Poems.

we depend not only on the conscience which is in our waking individual selves, but we reach down through the subconscious into that great reservoir of conscience, — the conscience of the Church, of humanity, of the world. The Holy Spirit is the Life Giver in the conscience which is ours, one by one, and He is the Life Giver in the conscience which we share with humanity and the ages, perhaps with the flowers and the everlasting hills. We recognize the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, and our individual selves are lost in it to be found really alive. We obey our own consciences and the conscience that belongs to us all. So we obey the full and rounded message of the Spirit of God.

The best way to meet Pantheism is not to cut the world away from God too sharply. Orthodox zeal, in its flight from Pantheism, is constantly falling into the pit of dualism. Christ's way of meeting Pantheism is to make all the world a sacrament. When He took out of the world a few crumbs of bread and a few drops of wine, and claimed it as part of Himself, He did make all creation a sacrament. Thenceforth every common meal was sacramental. Every natural law became a spiritual law also. Whenever we touch any material thing we touch the spiritual within it. This is not Pantheism. This is the Holy Ghost informing and inspiring every particle of the world which God has made, and using it, in God, and for God.

As Christians, our duty is to identify Christianity with the world. This is not to be done by forcing people into the Church, after the manner of Constantine or Clovis. Nor is it by a soft assumption that every one is at heart a Christian whether he know it

or not. Our outstanding vision in the Church today, so far as we grasp the significance of the Church's function, is the holding Christ before the world in such a way that every man will long to accept Him, joyfully surrendering to the love of His Spirit. For to have the universal conscience at its maximum we must think of every man's contributing to it the best of which his nature is capable. If we are to imagine what would be a complete world-conscience, we must think of a conscience which would have every man's knowledge of Christ within it. The two worlds are not separate. As the love of Christ-filled men goes out in missionary zeal in this life, so it will have gone out in a quite equal zeal in the life beyond earthly existence. Those everywhere who possess Christ must be convincing, each his neighbour, what such possession means. And so, at length, we trust that there will be a Christian conscience which includes all men who have lived. This conscience, even in its formative stage, is the necessary complement of every appeal to the individual conscience. In appealing to this world conscience, either *in posse* or *in esse*, we appeal to all human experience. Every race, every nation, every man, has a distinct and valuable contribution to make.

A national spirit may foster loyalty and spur men on to sacrifice and honour. It may bind the different classes and ranks together in a common ideal. But the national spirit may also be narrow and selfish. Mandell Creighton once said that though Christianity beautified many an individual life, glorified many a family, helped somewhat the honour of business, touched a little the relations of society and politics, it could scarcely be said to exist in international

obligations.[1] We need to look no farther than the present European War to see instances in which the most solemn international promises are flippantly disregarded, because they interfere with the safety or convenience of a nation in a trying situation. But a sign still worse is the appeal to race prejudice. Where races press hard against one another, and the expansion of either seems possible only at the expense of the other, there is a problem demanding one's sympathy; but hate and vengeance are no part of a Christian solution. Any nation which incites its people to war against another nation by inflaming social hatred cuts itself off from the religion of Jesus Christ, who came to be the brother not of one race, but of every race. When from so-called civilization we hear the cry to rise up against the peril of the Slav or against the Yellow peril, then we wonder if the God of the whole earth will not take dominion from His selfish and pampered children and give it to those who but now crouched in the by-ways and hedges of the world. Every Anglo-Saxon who has really known a great-hearted Japanese or Chinaman knows how noble and true Japan or China can become, if this high Christian character so exemplified becomes contagious. And when this same Anglo-Saxon sees the decay of morals and ideals in Berlin and Paris and London and New York, he wonders if he might not be glad to think of his descendants three hundred years hence living in a world where Asiatic ideals and not European were dominant.

There is more to be said. I am quite convinced that nations as we now know them are to lose their armoured edges and will be in some way fused into a

[1] *The Heritage of the Spirit*, p. 181.

federation of nations. As Christianity really gets hold of men, it will seem more important to be the brother of all men than to be the brother of Americans only, or of Englishmen only, or of Germans only. The nation has too often appealed only to its own conscience; it needs to be sensitive to the world-conscience on the one extreme, and the conscience of the individual man on the other extreme. As often, so here, extremes meet. The rights and responsibilities of the individual man are on the conscience of the individual and also on the conscience of the most inclusive circumference one can imagine in the world. A nation, for what it calls self-preservation, will go to war; in that war it is regardless of the lives and the homes of individuals and of families if only by fire and blood it can save a throne or a capital, the symbol of a national entity. This national entity has its sacred place in human affairs. We owe too much to the growth of loyalty to a national ideal to allow the nation to fade away. But nations thus far have not learned to be Christian. We are still in the primitive age of Christianity and there is far to go. Nations must learn what Christ meant when he said, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it."[1] That means nations as well as individuals. When a nation goes to war to save itself as a nation, or to make its boast of wider bounds, it is not Christian. The only Christian battle cry must be after the pattern of Julia Ward Howe's Battle Hymn:

"He hath sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat:

[1] *St. Matthew* xvi, 25.

Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! Be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

"In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me:
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on."

Any nation that will call upon its citizens to die for the sake of making individual men free, within its own limits and beyond, is heroic and Christian; and the world and God will give grateful praise. Through this widening of the national conscience into an international conscience we discover one more avenue towards the world-conscience which is constantly being reinforced.

We think a child fortunate who is brought up in a large family of children. He is ordinarily unselfish, companionable, gay, and sympathetic. Why? Because he has never done exactly what he alone would have preferred, and has constantly been obliged to submit his preferences to the preferences of the others. In the confined sphere in which he has moved he has submitted his life to his own conscience and to the conscience of his home in all its variety. And in the harmony of the little conscience with the larger he has found his peace, not only in childhood, but through life. He has been disciplined by it, softened, enriched. That is a figure of what every nation and every man may do. Every individual who is whole and sane must learn obedience to the Holy Spirit in his own heart, and to the same Holy Spirit speaking and pleading in the larger self. Thus, day by day, in quietness and in confidence man goes forward to meet his destiny, relying always on the full leadership of the Holy Spirit.

IV

When we have fixed in our minds that in the Holy Spirit God not only created the world, but each moment is reaching out to it His interest and protection, we must ruthlessly tear from our minds every remaining thought of dualism. It is our duty as well as our privilege to see the Holy Spirit in everything. This will not always be easy, but we have but one alternative: either God is not absolute, or the Holy Spirit, with power and love, pervades every electron of the universe. This does not mean identity: we may still think of the Creator apart from His creation. But it does mean the most unyielding control: we may not think of creation apart from the Creator.

We may see that in granting man free-will, God, for the sake of a higher good, has permitted many things to be which He did not create and would not create. As He willed men to be His friends, He bestowed upon them as His highest gift the choice of freely accepting Him or freely denying Him in any degree. Our own instinct tells us that we should prefer failure to slavery: we should prefer to be imperfect persons rather than accurate machines. Love and gratitude and remorse can be, only because there is a real alternative of hate and sin and hardness of heart. To love God only once, to be eager only once to please Him, to perceive, only for one flash of an instant, how much He cares when we do less than our best, to have such personal and responsible relationship with Him only once in all the millenniums, is worth all the risk of failure and eternal darkness. God on Calvary bought us with a price; and it is

only with a price that we may possess Him. This price is our liability to sin, evil, sorrow, pain, and ten thousand other names for the same thing; namely, rejection of the best, rejection for any length of time, however long, however short, of the love of God. Evil is in the world. It is evil; it is no shadow, no picturesque antithesis, no imagination. The possibility of it had to be, if God's creatures were to grow to be men. He did not create it. Evil is man's handiwork. Though it is hard to see how, with his blindness and moral frailty, man could have escaped falling into the creation of it, evil is not God's. And yet, the astounding revelation of the Gospel is that God is willing to be held responsible even for evil. Man cannot go down to the lowest hell without finding that the pitying, loving Spirit of God has been there before him. God does not condone evil, He does not allow His saints to explain it away, — for the saints are of all people most sensitive to evil. The man filled with the Holy Spirit does not make light of it; thereby we know that the Holy Spirit grieves over the evil in the world. But since Christ died on Calvary we know that the Holy Spirit will not depart from man, though man, trying to depart from Him, live in the mire.

We may go a step farther. As we discover through modern science the intricate marvels of inanimate nature, we begin to put increasingly less emphasis on "inanimate." We speculate tremulously and daringly whether God may not have given some measure of free-will to all the world, to nature as well as to humanity. We become aware that we cannot draw lines of division in God's universe quite so sharply as our fathers drew them. It is not only the doctrine

of evolution which has taught us this: it is our own sense of our community with the beasts and the trees. It is not merely the atmosphere of a chilling science which closes about us; it is the warm atmosphere of a religious poesy, as of St. Francis: we too talk to the birds and we know our kinship in the common life which both they and we receive from the Holy Spirit. God has made everybody, everything, free.

The difficulties of any such theory are innumerable, but they are not slighter in any other hypothesis. The cruelty in nature staggers us. The great world teems with little life; and, because some forms of life are stronger than others, the great world is a field of grim warfare, selfish pillage, cruel death. The plants which we call weeds are torn up to make more life for the vegetable. The little fish are greedily swallowed by the big fishes. The sheep are killed by the wolves. And even man piously eats the beasts and the fowls, and sees no harm. The terror and heroism of the forgotten world may be revealed to some of us by Mr. Thompson-Seton's and Mr. Kipling's stories. Or the tears of a child when a pet chicken is killed for supper, and the child's utter inability to eat a single morsel, tell us how narrowly we escape being cannibals. The maddening question in all this slaughter and strife is, Where is the Holy Spirit: does He know; does He care? Or is it only nature, the other and forgotten side of a relentless dualism? There comes by way of answer the thoroughness of our faith in the omnipotence of God. No, we cry: God is in all things; He does rule; He does care.

A recent theologian has trenchantly suggested how the Spirit of God may sympathize with an order so complex as this. "Indifference!" he exclaims, "that

is the problem. Nature, or God, is so evidently careful, so evidently careless, about one and the same interest. Dualism offers a tempting solution for an apparent conflict between two principles — one constructive, the other destructive. But no! Construction and destruction are two plainly dependent factors in one system. Nature destroys in creating and creates in destroying. Death is but an economy of life in its higher forms; by no means necessary in the lower. The fly and the mouse perish that the spider and the cat may live. Yet nature is on both sides at once. She pounces with the cat and she runs with the mouse; she rejoices with the conqueror, she mourns and struggles with the conquered. . . . On this hypothesis God cares, and cares supremely for each individual thing as though it were a world apart. He equips it for the struggle; lives, fights, feels, devises, plans with it. He cannot do otherwise. If He fights with it, on behalf of its fellow combatants, this, again, is a necessity of His nature, which utters itself to its utmost in every possible way. . . . It is, therefore, a libel to say that He is careless of individuals. He cares for them as for nothing else." [1]

Our age is inclined to pass over our Saviour's nature miracles either with a denial or with a shrug and a note of apology. There is in them, I believe, something much more important than we have yet grasped. As He must have recognized as no one else the Holy Spirit in nature, so nature must have recognized in Him such mastership as no one else could possess. There must have been response, like versicle and antiphon, between them. Men cried, "Even the winds

[1] George Tyrrell, *Essays on Faith and Immortality*, pp. 250, 251, 266.

and the sea obey Him."[1] And He said, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit."[2] Everything was His. He worked in natural laws, and He worked in laws which we may some day call natural, but which as yet we do not understand and cannot classify. The essential result of any study of the nature miracles is to see that Christ treated nature not as a foreign element to be endured or thwarted, but as a limpid medium for His own self-expression. He loved the lily and the mountain, and in their mute way they loved Him. He gave the storm its freedom, but the storm relented at His word.

And now let us turn to human history. The divine message of the Bible is that God is not only in what we call sacred history, but in all history. As this message goes deeper into human thought we are aware that there is no profane history, it is all sacred. In the same way, the inspiration of the Bible does not stop with the Bible. The Bible is a supreme pledge to assure us that the Holy Spirit has used and will use human minds and human fingers to transmit a message from God to men. When Christ became incarnate, the very majesty and fulness of the mystery compelled men to look for Christ in all subsequent goodness; so when the Holy Ghost is found, as it were, materialized within the words and sentences of Holy Scripture, we cannot carelessly open any book that helps the soul in its upward struggle. Inspiration, as well as incarnation, is more easily defined than limited. Other holy books must be reverently read. It means much that theological colleges are now including in

[1] *St. Matthew* viii, 27. [2] *St. John* iii, 8.

their curricula courses on comparative religion; it means more that every foreign missionary is now taught to recognize and cherish the record of the Holy Spirit in the past religious traditions of his parishioners. These traditions he is expected to clarify, and then to lift into the complete message of God's love in Christ. He is always saying to himself, "The Holy Ghost spake in time past." He dare not patronize his parishioners and their former receptivity; for he too is learning from them. He feels that his Bible is still unique in its revelation; he is not inclined to lose his judgment, or his perspective. But he does see that the Holy Ghost has not in any nation left Himself without witness. The Holy Ghost in all sacred books, most of all in the Bible, makes us know that He is inextricably bound up with human history. There is no history without Him.

History presents the same difficulties as the natural world. It requires both courage and faith to believe that there is a divine purpose working out in the confused medley of human events. When the saints are leading it is reasonably easy; when one sees the dominance of Alexander VI, Catherine de' Medici, and Tammany Hall, the task is unreasonably hard. But there is a divine message to be read in every day's news. If we securely knew our Bibles we should be able to interpret to ourselves, if not to others, the meaning of the day's events. A reverent scholar was wont to say that though the layman did not now read the Bible as his fathers read it, he did read the newspaper, and that might become to him God's Word.[1] This surely is worth meditation; for God is in the day; and the record of the day, if it is a true record, is a

[1] *Life of A. V. G. Allen*, p. 266.

record of God. Only he, however, who has been wont to study the Bible is apt to see the divine in what is immediate. The fact that we are forced to bring God into the history of which we know most,— the history that is making as we look on, — increases our difficulty in thinking that God could condescend to guide a history in which the free-will of man has contrived to introduce much that is abominable.

What reasons then have we for believing that the Holy Spirit deigns to control human history? In the excitement of the August of 1914, when Europe was ablaze with war, a certain preacher was reported to have said that God is on the side of the heaviest guns. This is only another way of saying that man rules God, God does not rule man. For though we might explain that God indirectly allowed the guns to be built, we should be conceding so much to the power of man's free-will, that we should practically be imagining that God, in giving free-will to man, abdicated the throne of the universe. But it is not necessary to rely upon our theoretical sense of what is fitting. History abounds in illustrations of the shortsightedness of the soldier or the king who relies on mere force to bring the victory. Marathon and Salamis were won by character; and the force of the East was too weak to meet it. In an earlier day Hezekiah trembled in Jerusalem under the assault of Sennacherib and his hitherto unbeaten army. Isaiah told Hezekiah to be of good courage, since the Lord would fight for Jerusalem. That night one hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers died in the Assyrian camp. And Sennacherib returned to Nineveh to die at the hand of an assassin. The Hebrew historian interpreted the incident, — which is recorded outside

the Bible as well as in it, — by saying that an angel of the Lord smote the thousands in the camp of the Assyrians.[1] A modern historian would doubtless explain that, owing to careless sanitation in the camp, a pestilence did its deadly work in an incredibly short time: this does not bar out the Biblical interpretation, it but adds a detail to the process. Scarcely more than yesterday Philip II, with the armies and navies of the most powerful nation of Europe behind him, attempted to enslave England and the Netherlands. The winds blew his huge ships to destruction, and the Spanish Armada became a proverb in England for the futility of trying to enslave that which God had made free. In the Netherlands the favourite of Charles V, William of Orange, espoused the cause of the Reformers, and all the strength of Alva, Philip's general, was vain. One cannot read the story in Motley's *Dutch Republic* without feeling that God raised up William of Orange to champion the cause of the weak and oppressed, and by something stronger than physical strength to give him the victory over guns and armies.

Still clinging to the vocabulary of our time we say that physical laws work themselves out relentlessly; then, if we are religious, we add that of course these laws are part of the machinery which God uses, and that, in submitting to the supremacy of these physical laws, we are submitting to God. There is a large measure of truth in this; but we need modesty in limiting the scope of laws. There are, we believe, other laws than physical. Indeed it is safe to say that physical laws are only a part of the dense net-work of laws which radiate from the energy proceeding out of the life of God; that is, from the Holy Spirit. The

[1] 2 *Kings* xix, 35.

Holy Spirit knits these laws into the farthest horizons of the universe. Imagine some of these laws. When Elisha was surrounded by a host which terrified his servant, Elisha prayed that this servant might have his eyes opened to the heavenly forces which defended Elisha from the earthly weapons; straightway the young man saw the mountain crowded with horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.[1] Christ, surrounded by Roman soldiers in the garden, said quietly that twelve legions of angels were at his command:[2] the Romans were not taking a defenceless prisoner. The prosaic person may say that such words are only flights of beautiful poetry; but as we advance into the mysteries of modern life we are less and less prone to pare down the significance of such records. The forces used by God in His orderly universe are, we muse, both seen and unseen. Those who once helped us in the visible world, having seemed to die, may now be living closely enough to us to help as in our struggle. And we men are quite unlikely to be the only beings of intelligence whom God has made. The air may be full of ministering spirits, under God's laws even as we. We need reverent imagination to think how God may use the strength of His creatures, seen and unseen, mortal and immortal, to thwart the strength of those who, relying only on physical power, are blind to the horses and chariots of fire which fill the mountain. It is quite right that we should reverence the laws of God which we can, to some degree, formulate. It is altogether wrong that we should presume to limit the range of the divine order. In the innumerable armies which we may believe the Holy Spirit employs there is a law and a power extend-

[1] 2 *Kings* vi, 17. [2] *St. Matthew* xxvi, 53.

ing beyond our most ambitious dreaming. And as we believe in Him we must be sure that the generalship never for one second escapes His grasp. A nation's only security is not an unconquerable army, but invincible righteousness which may be sure of God's coöperation and His victory.

There is no question but that people obviously chosen of God have met overwhelming reverses. Is there place for such an outcome in the thought of God's supremacy? The position was frankly faced by the ancient Hebrew prophets. When Jerusalem fell, and the darkness of captivity engulfed the people, two laws were declared, not at once, but by prolonged experience and insight. One of these laws was that Jerusalem was to learn something by its misery which it could not have learned by uninterrupted prosperity. It was to learn and to teach spiritual religion; it was to be made ready for a suffering Redeemer who was to conquer by obedience and by love. A nation which has not passed through that period of suffering, to find its higher self, has not yet become a nation. There is defeat which is a stage in an ultimate victory. Defeated Greece, by its language and thought and spirit of receptiveness, did more than victorious Rome, in the first century, to make ready the way of Christ. The agony of the American Civil War brought to a whole people the sense of national greatness and national mission. One who loved Germany might, in these days, be reconciled to its defeat, because in its present form it is still a young nation boasting uninterrupted success, and because its humiliation for a little time might drive it from a faith in armaments, to a mighty faith in God only, who is a Spirit.

The other law of a defeated nation which may justly feel itself dear to God, is that God is no respecter of persons. The Hebrew prophets preached that message to the chosen people with unfaltering earnestness. The only way by which they could hold their exalted place in Jahveh's favour was by being more true to the laws of Jahveh than any other nation. The proud empires have succeeded one another in what seems to us, as we look back, rapid succession. Our philosophy of history goes far enough to tell us that the rotted Roman civilization deserved to crumble before the hordes of crude peoples from the northern forests. It offends one's sense of propriety to think of the rough manners and guttural speech of the invaders, superseding the elegance of Roman patricians. But the Roman patricians were as a class whited sepulchres, with nothing left but the traditions of distant ancestors. So too the potency of the Mediæval Church, which felt itself as strongly intrenched in God's love as the ancient Hebrews felt Jerusalem to be, passed almost in a night, and the intellectual and spiritual strength and leadership of Christendom were given to scattered groups of Christians who turned their faces away from the sins of Rome to the ideals of a New Jerusalem eternal in the heavens. In every great war, when men's selfish ambitions mingle with their unselfish aspirations, we may wisely look not to the immediate issues which the warriors have declared to themselves and to the world. We may much more wisely ask what will God do about it when the thunder of guns is still and the smoke blows away into His sky. Will He take the strength of all the greatest contestants quite away from them, and will He give the kingship of the world to some tiny power, of which, till yester-

day, no one took thought? Or will He break up nationality altogether, as a device which has served its day, and will He devise some world republic in which He deems the ordinary man able to bear his share of the government? The Holy Spirit is the one invincible leader of revolutions; and nothing is safe in His path but righteousness and love. History is one grand Magnificat:

> "He hath shewed strength with His arm;
> He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
> He hath put down the mighty from their seats,
> And exalted them of low degree.
> He hath filled the hungry with good things;
> And the rich He hath sent empty away."

The question is constantly being asked whether we can say that there is progress in the world. When he compares ancient Greece with modern Europe, the honest historian finds it hard to tell whether there has been progress or not. The line wavers: here there is advantage, there disadvantage, in the comparison. One form of slavery vanishes, and another seems to take its place. Art reluctantly admits that probably no modern city is as beautiful as Athens in the days of Pericles. The success of modern invention, by which we are able to live at a pace so fast as to lose our nerves, may or may not be an advantage for us. But when we go beyond all these superficial elements in life we may hope that there are signs by which we may judge the progress of man. We are forced to remember that the time of which we know anything is but the twinkling of an eye in the thousands of years during which the Holy Spirit will have guided human history. As it takes more than a day to discover the trend of any human enterprise, so it will surely take more than

a few thousand years to make plain what a divinely led humanity will do. We no sooner think that we have escaped the filth of ancient empires than a specialist writes a book telling us exactly the conditions at our doors, of which we had only the barest inkling. We no sooner think that we have escaped the barbarism of the Goths and Huns than our morning newspapers tell of atrocities of a savage war done but yesterday in the supposedly civilized places which were the homes, ages ago, of these very barbarians. The battle of progress advances, retreats, again advances. I suspect that the greatest encouragement comes from unexpected and comparatively trivial incidents. On August 1 and 2, 1914, a number of English and Americans, driven by the German declaration of war, made their way from Wiesbaden to Dover. They suffered not only inconvenience and loss of possessions, but, by rough usage and hunger, were in actual danger. A woman made some important discoveries during this journey as she passed through crowds of people, who were in absolute panic; for war was already showing its ugly face. "The most important experience," she wrote, "is this: that men and women engaged in a primitive struggle for food, drink, and the attainment of safety were yet kind and self-sacrificing to all and sundry, and, for themselves, curiously uncomplaining. Such food as we had was simply common property, and so were cushions and restoratives. Each person developed special capabilities, which were exercised for the common weal. . . . An American became medical, and in addition to his own large female family, took charge of two terrible heart cases from Nauheim. This man had nothing whatever to eat for twenty-four hours, but did not seem to

mind."[1] A sterner test as finely met was the behaviour of modern men on the sinking *Titanic* in the spring of 1912. The whole world not only admired, but was frankly amazed at the quiet and unselfish heroism of men and women. Amid much that is disheartening in our time, in individual relationships and in national and international crookedness, these sudden tests superbly met are inspiring testimony for the more hopeful interpretation of human development. They cannot be turned into an argument; but they give inspiring glimpses of what the Holy Spirit is doing.

We need something more than observation; our longest vision is inadequate. We need faith. We must trust the Holy Spirit, who is our Leader. He will lead humanity forward. And the only test is the test I have already given; namely, the willingness and ability of the individual to look to his own conscience and to the conscience of the largest whole which he can understand or imagine, and by this thorough witness hear and obey the Voice of the Holy Spirit. When the individual soul and the world soul shall alike obey this Voice, revealed to each and to both, then we shall have the world transfigured into the Kingdom of God. The government of this world shall represent the highest of which a whole people is capable, because this whole people, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, will depend with clear sincerity upon the conscience which is collective and the conscience which is individual. It shall be neither fanatical nor dull. In the night as in the day it shall obey the Light of the Universe,

[1] Miss Nina Butler, *A Journey from Wiesbaden*, London Spectator August 8, 1914.

the Holy Spirit of God and of His Christ. If we could see straight enough, if we had knowledge enough, I am sure that we could see this progress. But I do not base my assurance on what human eyes can see or know; I base it on faith in the Holy Spirit. He that filleth all things is God. Consequently, we must see Him in everything; and in everything therefore we may discern the promise of victory.

V

Evolution has been defined as "the working out of a problem in organization and education by a Mind of immeasurable resources, through and by means of a resisting medium." [1] We may turn this sentence about, and say that the Holy Spirit, with immeasurable resources, through and by means of a resisting medium (which is the free will granted to the world), is working out a problem in organization and education, which, both by the materially minded and by the spiritually minded, must be interpreted as progress. By a divine decree we are co-workers[2] with the Holy Spirit, and so too is nature, which groaneth and travaileth in pain, to attain the final adoption by Him.[3] It is an individual good which lies before us, and it is a universal good to which, by the divine grace, we may contribute. The exhortation, therefore, which comes to each one of us, is, *Lay hold of the power of the Holy Spirit.*

(1) To this end we must, first of all, recognize the futility of setting bounds. We must be rid of the

[1] F. H. Johnson, *The Higher Anthropology.*
[2] 2 *Corinthians* vi, 1.
[3] *Romans* viii, 22, 23.

habit of announcing even to ourselves what we shall do or shall not do. Least of all may we arrogantly assert what God cannot do, which assertion is the crime of many logical theologians. Christ made the righteous rule distinct for His disciples when He sent them forth to preach. "When they deliver you up," He said, "be not anxious how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you."[1] The theological student blithely tells his friends that he does not know where his ministry shall be spent; but of two things he is sure: he never shall teach school and he never shall work west of a certain line. Ordained, he becomes a school-master, and then, after a space, works many years in the distant West. Thenceforth he goes where he is sent, and has no plans of his own making. His effort is to understand the larger plan into which all his tasks and preferences must be merged. The idea of obedience inculcated by the Jesuits is an inspiring idea; its fatal defect is that the complete obedience of the Jesuit is rendered to one less than the Supreme Lord of Life. The individual in his own life, dares not say what he shall not, or cannot do. If his life is to attain, even approximately, its divinely destined goal, it must be wrought according to the plan revealed by the Holy Spirit as the days pass.

In the same way, no group of men and no institution may decide the limits of its work. It is reported that an organization within a certain Christian Communion, striving for Church unity, has declared that the Communion which it represents shall consider no plan for union with any other Christians until all

[1] *St. Matthew* x, 19, 20.

Communions, including the Roman Church, shall give their assent to unity. This is usurpation of the prerogatives of the Holy Spirit. No body of men, however numerous, however wise, however good, has right to dictate the process by which Church unity shall be achieved. It might come in the way these zealous men wish it to come; it might, with more probability, come by the same gradual reintegration as would correspond with the gradual disintegration which took place through Christian history. It might be the duty of various Communions to unite each with its nearest of sympathy and of tradition, in the expectation that out of the process should come at length the perfected unity of all Christians in one body. There is danger that good men may be found even to fight against God.[1]

The very worst form of this setting of bounds is the vainglorious attempt of human logic to limit the field of God's will and power. Orthodoxy and heresy have been equally culpable in foisting upon the attention of the Church their insistence that the Almighty cannot do this or that. Orthodoxy has again and again set limits to His mercy and His forgiveness: instead of starting from the love revealed in Christ, it has started from the tornado and the pestilence, and has made everything subordinate to what it conceived to be God's loyalty to law and justice. And the flint and steel of its inexorable logic has driven many a saint to despair, because the saint was fiercely persuaded that God could not love his poor, dead, erring son as much as he, a mere human father, loved him. Heresy may scoff at such a spectacle, and then, with utter unconsciousness of the irony, rush forward to

[1] *Acts* v, 39.

explain in what ways the Incarnation of the Son of God could not have taken place, and which of the miracles ascribed to Him the Son of God could not have done. Both orthodoxy and heresy have in their time built fences about inspiration; one in literature in general, the other in the Bible. So no doubt each has failed to receive a message from on high which might have been for comfort or for incitement to high accomplishment. Thought about God, to be reverent, must be expectant. We may say what God has done for us. It is scarcely less than blasphemy to say what He cannot do for us.

(2) Then we must look to our wills. Psychology speaks impressively of the flimsiness of human wills.[1] It beseeches men to cultivate and exercise their wills, that they may be able to withstand lowering tendencies in life, which make for disintegration and death, and that they may be able, when the chance presents itself, to incorporate all the tendencies which make for strength and efficiency. The pleasant men and women who never do anything aggressively wrong, but who,

[1] *Cf.* William James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 547: "The moral tragedy of human life comes almost wholly from the fact that the link is ruptured which normally should hold between vision of the truth and action, and that this pungent sense of effective reality will not attach to certain ideas. . . . No class of men have better sentiments or feel more constantly the difference between the higher and the lower path in life than the hopeless failures, the sentimentalists, the drunkards, the schemers, the 'dead-beats,' whose life is one long contradiction between knowledge and action, and who, with full command of theory, never get to holding their limp characters erect. . . . And yet their moral knowledge, always there, grumbling and rumbling in the background, — discerning, commenting, protesting, longing, half resolving, — never wholly resolves, never gets its voice out of the minor into the major key, or its speech out of the subjunctive into the imperative mood, never breaks the spell, never takes the helm into its hands." This whole chapter on the Will (XXVI) deserves study in this connection.

by their weakness, flow amiably with every current of worldliness, are responsible for most of the defeats of the righteous. They have no wills worth mentioning. The most startling example of a man without a will is Kipling's *Tomlinson:* he decided nothing. One may see the weak smile of acquiescence before the varying circumstances of life in innumerable Tomlinsons thronging any highway. The men with practically no wills are legion.

William James gave to the thinking world a phrase which it is not likely to forget, — "the will to believe." Faith and open-mindedness towards the aspirations and confidences of the ages are, he taught, the result not so much of argument and marshalling of evidence as of a determination to be on friendly terms with men's highest hopes, eager to look into their merits, and ready to yield to their appeal if they do appeal. He himself illustrated his own doctrine; for, though he did not find himself quite at home in any orthodox theological statement, he was widely and deeply attentive to every honest message that reached his neighbourhood. He read the venturesome books of the young with what his friends often thought too great patience: he found something to admire in them all. Perhaps the greatness of his power as a teacher was due to his eagerness to learn from his pupils. In his tender and religious nature he exemplified the will to believe; this was not a whim, not good-nature, but the staunch resolve to understand, so far as he might, every man's best conviction.

On the other extreme, we have in these last days observed the value which the masters of a great war have set upon that quality in their soldiers which we may define as the will to conquer. First, there was

in each nation the elaborate justification for that nation's going to war. Inevitability, national honour, fidelity to national pledges, self-defence, freedom, defence of weaker peoples, were some of the words that were repeated again and again. They rang out as challenges to the people, high and low, to give themselves to the sacrifice and the glory of the war. The natural instincts of safety, peace, and brotherhood had to be overcome. The will of the people was being trained to desire war. Then on this foundation was built the will to conquer at any price. We shall conquer, was the cry, because we as no other nation shall fight till our treasure is dissipated, till all our men and boys are dead on the battlefield. No one, each nation was thinking, can withstand a national will like that. And when the battle raged, day after day, we may be sure that the generals did not look so much to their huge guns as they did to the eyes of their men, to see that there flashed in these eyes the undimmed fire of a will to gain the victory.

So far we may go in our modern appreciation of the value of the developed human will. While philosophy and common experience have been speaking of the will of man, theology has been putting emphasis upon the Will of God.[1] Ancient theology said much about the Substance in the divine nature. As we dwell more and more on the words ascribed to our Saviour, "God is a Spirit,"[2] we think of the indwelling and outgoing Will, rather than of the Substance. The Will seems to us to lie back of His love and His justice and His power.

Now, are we not compelled to believe that he who

[1] See, *e.g.*, Professor E. S. Drown, *Does Christian Belief Require Metaphysics?* Hibbert Journal, April, 1906, p. 527.

[2] *St. John* iv, 24.

would strengthen his individual will cannot go far by simply fortifying the tiny centre of will which he finds in his own individual life? By such an isolated process a man may become opinionated, headstrong, self-sufficient, bumptious, an intolerable obstacle to all his neighbours, not only to their foibles and sins, but to all their hopes and ideals. There seems to be a certain strength in the man's obstinacy, but an investigation leads to the verdict of a wasted life. Should this seem too savage a picture of will cultivated in isolation, we might reduce the verdict to provincialism. But the history of provincialism, in both Church and State, is that it absorbs its energy in side issues and has nothing left for supreme problems, even if they are discovered, — ordinarily they are not even glanced at. The keenness of the Pharisees to keep their infinitesimal rules, and their seeing nothing particular about Jesus of Nazareth, combine to make exactly a case in point. Or one may think of Leo X resolving to build St. Peter's as a way to set forward the life of the Church, and paying slight heed to an Augustinian Friar in Wittenberg who uttered sharp words about the means employed for building St. Peter's, and then about an older and better way of setting forward the life of the Church, — namely, justification by faith. Obstinacy, hardness, fixity do not make will.

If a man's sincere purpose is to make his will not merely blustering, but strong, he must lay hold of the Invincible Will which is, by divine love, at his command. He must shut his eyes and run, as for his life, past selfishness, individualism, provincialism, and every other subordinate fortress. His only hope is the Will of God, the beginning and the end of strength.

When a man has so frittered his will away by intemperance that every temptation means a fall, those who long for his redemption ask only if he has enough will left to make one decision. Has he, they say, will enough to open his life to God? Can he push back the door of his self-sufficiency and, with what personality he has left, genuinely desire God's power? If he can do this, he can acquire a will which shall enable him to resist every temptation. We are not now in the realm of theory. The Christian years are thronged with saints who have found strength of will in just this way. Augustine of Hippo told his disgraceful story, then the sequel: there we see what the Will of God can do for a shattered human will. We have but to walk a few steps to the house of some clergyman, physician, Salvation Army captain, or worker in a rescue mission, to learn stories quite as remarkable and thorough as the story of St. Augustine. "There but for the grace of God goes John Newton," said John Newton as he watched a poor drunkard reel down an English lane. If you desire a will that can resist and can positively achieve, you must be done with tinkering and patching; you must acknowledge that of yourself you cannot help yourself. Alone, a man's will is blown hither and yon like a scrap of paper; it is at the mercy not merely of tornadoes but of the lightest zephyrs. It is neither strong nor free. The most that can be said of it, is that it is capricious. Just as the army loses its power to fight when it is cut off from its base of supplies, just as the electric lamp is dark the moment its connection with the dynamo is cut off, so the human will depends wholly, for whatever initiative and resistance it may have, upon its connection with the Will of the universe.

This is not the dictum merely of theology. Professor Bergson, most eloquent and popular of living philosophers, defines the issue squarely. "When we make ourselves self-conscious in the highest possible degree," he writes, "and then let ourselves fall back little by little, we get the feeling of extension: we have an extension of the self into recollections that are fixed and external to one another, in place of the tension it possessed as an indivisible act of will. But this is only a beginning. Our consciousness, sketching the movement, shows us its direction and reveals to us the possibility of continuing it to the end; but consciousness itself does not go so far. . . . Physics understands its rôle when it pushes matter in the direction of spatiality; but has metaphysics understood its rôle when it has simply trodden in the steps of physics, in the chimerical hope of going further in the same direction? Should not its own task be, on the contrary, to remount the incline that physics descends, to bring back matter to its origins, and to build up progressively a cosmology which would be, so to speak, a reversed psychology?" [1] In quite another connection Professor Bergson bears witness to a significant experience: "At the very minute," he says, "when the act is going to be performed, *something* may revolt against it. It is the deep-seated self rushing up to the surface. It is the outer crust bursting, suddenly giving way to an irresistible thrust." [2]

These two passages are not phrased in theological language, but they confirm the religious experience crystallized in theology. They might be taken as an echo of the Saviour's words, "The servant abideth not

[1] *Creative Evolution*, tr. Mitchell, pp. 207 f.
[2] *Time and Free Will*, tr. Pogson, p. 169.

in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever. If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."[1] St. Paul discovered that this divine task of making men free was continued through the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit," he said, "helpeth our infirmities; . . . the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered."[2] Men, in other words, have good reason to believe that the Spirit of God is waiting instantly to join the will of man to the Will of God, else how can we explain the response and power which comes to every man who, as it were, lets himself go, and thereby finds himself endowed with a new courage and a new hope? He is made free through God and in God.

The process by which this freedom is accomplished is variously described. We may see it come in a form of receptivity which expects to find God everywhere, not more in rest than in work, not more in man than in the wilderness. The Indian poet who has captivated not only his own people but our Western world as well, shows, by his essays and poems, how a reverent regard for the work of God can bring us to God himself. He describes himself in a boat on the Ganges on a radiant evening. He tells of the silence of the sky; the peace of the wide river, reflecting the changing sunset colouring; the desolate sandbank; the nest-holes of a colony of birds. "Suddenly," he goes on, "a big fish leapt up to the surface of the water and then disappeared, displaying on its vanishing figure all the colours of the evening sky. It drew aside for a moment the many-coloured screen behind which there was a silent world full of the joy of life. It came up from the depths of its mysterious

[1] *St. John* viii, 35, 36. [2] *Romans* viii, 26.

dwelling with a beautiful dancing motion and added its own music to the silent symphony of the dying day. I felt as if I had had a friendly greeting from an alien world in its own language, and it touched my heart with a flash of gladness."[1] Or we catch the message more fully from the poet's prayer: "O worker of the universe! We would pray to thee to let the irresistible current of thy universal energy come like the impetuous South wind of spring, let it come rushing over the vast field of the life of man, let it bring the scent of many flowers, the murmurings of many woodlands, let it make sweet and vocal the lifelessness of our dried-up soul-life. Let our newly awakened powers cry out for unlimited fulfilment in leaf and flower and fruit."[2] This is the power of meditation which does not end in meditation, but in the ability to meet life. It is a deeply worn path by which men in all ages have carried their individual wills into the Will of God. It is one of the methods employed by the love of the Holy Spirit.

Another way by which the Spirit brings the current of God's energy into our wills is by prayer. As we live we learn to depend on prayer. In our reticent modern life we do not suspect how nearly universal prayer is. The Holy Spirit, brooding over our life, yearns to give all men the desire to pray; and all men, as the heights loom above them, as the depths yawn beneath them, try to pray. The prayers may be so unconventional that only God calls them prayers; but they are prayers, because those who pray feel that they make a difference in their lives. This difference is not found in a list of benefits received, corresponding to a list of demands. The difference

[1] R. Tagore, *Sādhanā*, p. 110. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

lies in a new human will. Prayer is as the tiny wire, or the waves of ether, bringing the force of God's Will, with electric swiftness, into the will of the man who prays. Or prayer may be thought of as the opening of the door of the heart, and asking God to enter. If He share the burden, it is light; if He share the joy, it cannot be stained with selfishness. We are obliged to remind ourselves again and again that we are free; even God will not force the door open. He only stands at the door and knocks; but He never goes from the door. Never can we open the door with the key of prayer or any other key, that He will not be patiently, lovingly waiting. For He loves; and always desires another friend, and another, and another, till all have chosen Him.

Psychology points out to us that we cannot will to do an act which we have not ourselves done, or which we have not seen another do, or of which in no other way have we had knowledge; that is, we cannot do an act for the first time voluntarily.[1] If we really believe in prayer and the immanent power of the Holy Spirit, this limitation is transcended. For the highest act of volition is to pray that through the divine power resident in us we may do the Will of God, whether it be a familiar act or an act never before done in all history, and as we pray, we are given a vision of the deed to be done, indistinct in the mystery of divine light. This, we may think, was the essence of Christ's prayer in Gethsemane: He was yielding Himself to do the Father's Will for Him. He was to do an act unique in all time: He was to save a world by dying for it; He was to conquer the strongest by surrender to the weakest. When He said, "Thy Will be done,"

[1] See William James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 438.

He was therefore sending out His will to do the deed that no man hitherto had even dreamed of, and it was only by His complete surrender to God's Will that He stepped forth into its mystery and pain and ultimate joy. Such an example we can follow only from afar; but each man who prays follows it to the extent of his obedience to the heavenly Voice. Thus men may will in the most vigorous way to do deeds for the first time, when they feel that they are standing on the borders of experience, and God is driving them out into the unknown.

Another measure employed by the Holy Spirit to bring our wills into contact with the power of God's Will is through the love of the lovers of mankind. As the most evident function of the Holy Spirit is love, so those who make it their duty to use their lives in loving service for mankind are as angels of the Holy Ghost: He inspires them, He sends them far and wide on their gracious errands of mercy. Who are they? It gives one hope for the world when one sees that they are a mighty army, with names which cannot be numbered. They are friends, teachers, physicians, pastors, settlement workers, fathers and mothers of little children, nurses, reformers. As the Holy Spirit creates unity in life, so these men are instruments of His unity. A man, by reason of rough experience of what he thinks the injustice and mockery of fate, may have cut himself from both God and humanity. He feels his heart becoming numb and cold. He knows that he is on the brink of spiritual death. Then out of the mystery of life, some one who cares for the troubles of men comes in contact with him. The frozen soul tries to repel this friendly person, he thinks that he has offended him, and almost

hopes so; but the friendly hand still touches the hand that is cold. And through the patience and persistence of that touch, there is a thrill of new life in the frigid will. It awakes to the warmth of love, as the seed in the earth touched by the warmth of spring awakes to the sun. The title by which this friendly person is known does not matter: it may be doctor, public school-teacher, minister, or simply a companion in work. The vital description of such a person is *the man who cares*. He is more than priest and more than king. He is the chosen messenger of the Holy Spirit, and he carries the Love and Power of God into the hard places of humanity. Many a will, shrivelling in darkness, is thus filled with the glory and the joy of the Will of God.[1]

There are other means which the Holy Spirit uses which cannot yet be described. They are often misused; so that men have at times suspected that evil spirits, and not the Good Spirit, control them. They verge upon the occult, and it is difficult even to name them. One name we may give is telepathy. The range of telepathy is beyond the influence of the five senses; how much farther it may extend we cannot tell. A number of candid investigators think that possibly it may extend beyond souls whose life is limited to our conditions, — souls whose bodies are dead. However this may be, there is ample proof to show

[1] *Cf.* Matthew Arnold, *Rugby Chapel:* "Servants of God! . . ." Also William James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 579: "Our religious life lies more . . . than it used to, on the perilous edge. But just as our courage is so often a reflex of another's courage, so our faith is apt to be, as Max Müller somewhere says, a faith in some one else's faith. We draw new life from the heroic example. The prophet has drunk more deeply than any one of the cup of bitterness, but his countenance is so unshaken and he speaks such mighty words of cheer that his will becomes our will, and our life is kindled as his own."

that men can be helped by the outgoing influences, conscious or unconscious, of their distant friends. We may not profitably dwell on this subject at length; but we may imagine, at least, how unweariedly the Holy Spirit throws about our feeble wills all manner of reinforcement. If we think of the influence of the so-called dead upon us, we are driven to ask if the evil spirits may not hinder us as much as the good spirits aid us. Two pious speculations might be set down: first, as evil disintegrates of its own negative quality in this life, it must become, we trust, increasingly harmless everywhere, while good, in spite of the pessimists, has an inherent tendency to build up; and, secondly, the Holy Spirit in whom we believe must in His love guard us from the foe that walketh in darkness, and is invisible in the noontide. We have right to imagine angels, if we will, guarding us from the foe no human hand could touch. And so we have right to think that those who have loved us and have vanished may in their acts of love have no rivals.

The most excruciating torture man can experience is this fear that the forces of evil, seen or unseen, have any chance of victory in the world. Telepathy opens two vistas: through one a man looks up to heaven; through the other, down to the lowest hell. If free-will is really free-will, how much harm may not be done? We know what evil souls can do to mar the beauty of earth, and even for the time being destroy it; what may hosts of evil spirits be able to accomplish even against the glory of heaven? If we depend on arithmetic and logic we may go from bog to swamp till we sink from sight in the Slough of Despond. We must consult the Voice of God within us, as the child

in panic turns to its mother for reassurance. It is the searching of our own experience that, in such a case, becomes the most valid evidence of what is to be the ultimate outcome. A man who had received the double blow of disaster to his work and of personal bereavement, recently said that he was able to bear up against his fate, because he was sure that everything had a meaning and that God, having given him his lot, would see him through. That is a rational trust founded on faith in the indwelling Spirit. Though a man is the victim of the free-will in the world, the best men have always felt that God, through His infinite messengers and His direct aid, will never suffer any brave man to be overwhelmed by the evil dispositions of those who misuse their freedom. We turn back once more to the rich testimony of the experience of St. Paul, when he told his Corinthian parishioners, "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation make also the way of escape, that ye may be able to endure it." [1]

There is one other extremely mysterious force employed to strengthen the flagging energy of a human will, called hypnotism. Hypnotic suggestion has been largely used in curing the drunkard of his bestiality. There are an indefinite number of cases where by hypnotism a man, whose will was once so weak that he could not resist the slightest temptation, now loathes that for which formerly he would have sold all that he had. This loathing has been induced by a stronger personality, while the patient was in a state of hypnosis; henceforth the will of the stronger man has been to a certain extent his will. He not only resists

[1] 1 *Corinthians* x, 13.

his old temptation, but, in many instances, he is a changed man. There are two serious objections to this method of reinforcing the will. One is that a man so letting down the barriers of his personality as to allow himself to be hypnotized, is apt to weaken those barriers before all comers, bad as well as good. If in a state of hypnosis a man readily takes good suggestions, he will quite as readily take bad suggestions. Optimistic as one may be about certain people, there are few who could be trusted always to have their minds so nobly stored that one would covet the risk of having all their contents dumped into the soul of the hypnotized victim. With a controlling major idea, such as a resolve not to drink, there might be some minor ideas and impulses, which would in the end hurt more than the drunkenness. And the second objection to hypnotism is the obvious one that no man has right to surrender his personality to another human personality. Many a man has wisely turned himself from hypnotic relief with the protest, "No: not that way shall I seek a new will. Poor as my soul is, it is my own; and this shabby thing, ragged and torn, I shall keep till —" The end of that sentence is very important, and we may make a somewhat daring venture to finish it. The difficulty with hypnosis is the imperfect personality which influences, and the loss of independence in the personality which is helped. Now there is a Personality which is perfect and which never enslaves. We may think that the Holy Spirit uses all the beauty and the cruelty of nature, all the varying aspects of humanity, all the impulses and thoughts and desires of the human soul, to do exactly one thing, — to draw the will of man into the Will of God. The little will falls asleep, that it

may awake in the light of the infinite Will of God. In the Oratorio of Elijah, after the turbulence and the desolation, after the mournful discouragement of Elijah, there comes the culmination of the mystery and meaning of it all in the notes of a single voice, singing, "O rest in the Lord," and in the great chorus ending with the words, "Onward came the Lord." This may be the illustration of a gigantic method of the Holy Spirit; some way out of all hard experiences courageously borne we yield to the help that is at the centre of existence, — we rest in the Lord and onward He comes in the silence of his resistless might. The dismay and the languor are gone; our wills, tossed to and fro by hopes and fears, are now established in the strength and peace of the Will of God. We face the future unafraid.

(3) Does this mean resignation? It means precisely what "Thy Will be done" means in the Lord's Prayer. It does mean giving up some plan devised by our narrow anticipations and dreams; but there is no descent. We climb, we fly, we rise in heart and mind to highest heaven, and in the Holy Spirit we see what God sees, a vision and a plan created by Him, and in this vision and plan — wonder of wonders! — is a place for us. Therefore we cry, "Thy Will be done." The earthly resignation is transfigured into godlike ambition. There is no cringing, no abasement. It is exaltation. The Holy Spirit carries us, in a moment, from grief and despair to an expectation and a trust which surpass any former emotion. It is not knowledge that we have, for we could not explain why we trust; we could not describe the plan in which we shall strive to share. We do not expect ease or freedom from pain. The grief is changed, not gone: the tears

still fall. What we have is a new will: in honestly praying, "Thy Will be done," we have opened our tiny wills to receive, through the Spirit, the omnipotent Will of God. It is resignation; but resignation is so small a part of the change that we must find a larger term. Perhaps we may call it the Divine Acceptance.

We must make a distinction between the class of events which, so far as we can see, happen entirely according to God's Will, and the class of events which, by reason of the wrong exercise of human freedom, seem to us to happen in opposition to God's Will. Yet the distinction is in a measure an imaginary distinction. For all the manifestations of God's Will which we can comprehend are worked out through the medium of a creation in which God's gift of freedom tinges everything. It is only approximately that we can think of God's Will completely shown to us, except as we may say that it is His Will to be limited by the finite wills of men and perhaps of the whole creation. On the other hand, however the ingenuity and perfidy of human and other finite wills may mass themselves against His perfect Will, He is always and every where the absolute Master of the universe. It is His Will, not that finite wills thwart His Will, but that they have the opportunity to thwart it. Accordingly it is necessary to say that all that happens is by God's permission, and, to that extent, is His Will. Nevertheless, roughly and for convenience, we may speak of events which happen in accordance with God's Will, and other events which happen in opposition to it.

(a) Though we cannot wholly banish free-will from what we call nature, we may think of events expressed through nature as essentially direct from God's Will. It is easy to think of the beneficent aspects of nature,

like the sun and the rain, seed-time and harvest, as His Will; but the earthquake, the tidal wave, and the tornado seem nothing but brute force gone mad. How can they be reconciled with the love revealed by Christ? The only possible answer is that it is God's Will that this world be dangerous as well as beautiful, both hard and easy. Augustine told the divine reason, when he cried, "O sweet bitter world! Hadst thou been less sweet how had I borne thee; hadst thou been less bitter I had loved thee too well." This is not rhapsody, but a flash from the depths of experience. Lot and Abraham from a height surveyed the land: Lot took the fertile, easy country; Abraham, the stony, hard country. The race which inherited the hard conditions produced David and Isaiah; the children of Lot were suffocated by their ease. In the New World of America the Spaniards chose the gayety of the South, the English the barren soil and the harsh winters of New England: and the result has been similar. And we know that the genius and efficiency of each new generation is recruited for the most part not from houses of indulgence and ease, but from homes where the wolf is never far from the door. Earthquakes, tornadoes, and tidal waves are only extreme forms of the dangers which God's Will places near each life, that it may develop a character self-reliant, firm, unconquerable.

There is one phase of nature which is for most men the hardest. That is the separation of love in what we call death. Is it possible to see in the taking away of the visible presence of those we love any sufficient compensation for the agony and desolation? What, we venture to ask, is the Will of God about death? I pass by the firing of human character in the furnace

of affliction, whereby the dross is destroyed and the pure gold comes forth; deeply convinced though I am that sorrow rightly met always has that result. I dwell only on two profound facts which arise out of the ashes of what seems a burned-out love. The first fact is that when a person is no longer seen, and can no longer be seen in this life, we learn to know that person in a new way. We may say that we are now depending on spiritual realities, not on the accidents attaching to an earthly symbol: we know, then, the loved one's spiritual and most vital self. This is true: we dwell on graces and merits that we hardly suspected when we could touch the hand and see, eye to eye. We may go into deeper mystery, and say that we are now approaching the vanished soul through the Holy Spirit, who is the light of both of us; whereas, in former times, we depended on what we thought only our own individual lives to make the bond between us: we see, therefore, in our beloved what the Holy Spirit sees, — we see God's exultant belief in one who is dearer to us than life. The other fact exposed by the separation through death is that many a man has, out of his utter loneliness, groped madly through what he believed impenetrable night for help. In the blackness he stumbled against something; he pushed, as by accident, something open, — the door of his own heart; and out over the darkness burst the Great Light, — the light of God's presence and friendship.[1]

[1] For a suggestion of the revelation through death see Blanco White's *Sonnet on Night:*

"Mysterious Night! when our first parent knew
Thee, from report divine, and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame, —
This glorious canopy of light and blue?

The beloved, lost, is found in God; and while the beloved seemed to be lost, God was found. Human sorrow is unutterably hard; while we live, we cannot explain it away; we cannot be the same after it has smitten us. But men do transcend it. Age after age they have transcended it. The life eternal is to be richer because death throws man after man upon the depths, that he may rise to the heights. And the love that is to be, will be intenser for the lessons learned in separation. Under such circumstances a man must learn to say "Thy Will be done" with the expectation of an unlimited hope. The Holy Spirit pervades the natural order: if nature, like a skilful surgeon, cuts sharp and deep, the Holy Spirit heals the wound with His omnipresent love; and the man is strengthened in God. This is God's Will.

(b) Then we turn to the events which, barring God's Will that we be free, happen in opposition to His Will. When a pleasure boat, laden with poor city children, is destroyed; when it is discovered that the boat was unseaworthy, never should have been used for a single person; when it is discovered further that the owner cared more for a few dollars than for the safety of little children, and that the proper officials were too careless to condemn the rotted craft; then we cannot

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Yet, 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting flame,
Hesperus, with the host of heaven came,
And lo! creation widened in man's view.
Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
Within thy beams, O Sun! or who could find
Whilst fly and leaf and insect stood revealed,
That to such countless orbs thou mad'st us blind!
Why do we then shun death with anxious strife?
If light can thus deceive, wherefore not life?"

fold our hands solemnly over the children's lifeless bodies and say, "Thy Will be done." It was not God's Will; it was the will of a selfish shipowner, it was the will of men's carelessness and inefficiency. The only sense in which we may say, "Thy Will be done," in such circumstances, is by going forth straightway to see that similar murder is not committed again; to make these little children martyrs indeed, if not in will, by holding their death before the criminally greedy and the criminally neglectful till they are compelled to protect the children of the poor at whatever sacrifice to themselves. So these children shall not have died in vain. Generations of children may be happier because of their unconscious sacrifice. It is not God's Will that such fiendish sacrifices occur, but it is His Will that man be bound so close to his neighbours that no sin can be committed without to some extent affecting the whole world with its sorrow, and no heroism, however unconscious, can fail to lift the whole mass of humanity to a larger happiness.

The one untoward event which will be in our minds for years, even though it end tomorrow, is the European War of 1914. Only God knows who is to blame for it. It would be blasphemous to say that it was His Will. Its cause lies somewhere within the freedom given to humanity. It seems as if its cause might be laid at the door of a few passionate, ambitious, love-defying men; but we may not judge. The fires suddenly blown to a blaze have been smouldering long, and what men vaguely call a "system" may deserve the awful credit. Whoever, whatever caused it, the war has come. Men who believe in the Holy Spirit, who feel that through Him they have access to the strength of God, must know that their power is in-

finitely greater than the strength of those who depend on brute force to control the future. Men who hate this war cannot sit aside and calmly watch its murderous holocaust. Theirs it is to know God's Will. How shall the war be used, now that history is stained with it? What does the Holy Spirit say to the saints? What will they do to bring together a verdict? How shall they marshal the wills of humanity so that humanity shall receive the Will of God and by His grace make this Will dominant? Christian men, over all the carnage and the grief, need to pray, "Thy Will be done"; thereby not submitting for one instant to what is, but crying out that even yet man's failure and sin may be transcended, and that the poured-out blood and the torture of millions of homes may not be without some eternal reward.

Men have been given intelligence. Men above all have been given the power to receive God. We are not then expected to wait for God to act without us. We know that it is His Will to act through us. Day by day we should become an intelligent human will, informed by the divine Will, knowing what to do and how to do it. Already some things are clear. The world is setting its determination against the armaments of the world, the fostering of enmity nation for nation. Arbitration has been discussed, resorted to, proved. It may be necessary to have an international police force to impose the will of any international court of decision, till Christianity and civilization are farther advanced. What has been done in the Hague and in other meetings to work for peace has been mocked by this war, but not destroyed. If all Christian men everywhere shall set themselves against the brutality of war and the insanity of it, no government

though armed to the teeth and supposedly world-powerful can withstand them. For the real power of this world is spiritual. Guns and armies would be as mist, if the Holy Spirit in the might of His love were permitted to shine through men. If one asks for possible details, one need only imagine the attempted war-lord of tomorrow, intrenched with his guns, but facing the contempt and the scorn of defenceless old men, broken-hearted women, and weeping little children. Ostracized from the hearts of decent Christians, the blasphemy of "God is helping us to kill" would burn his lips; he would read the minatory psalms with a meaning staring at him, at him alone: "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered," [1] . . . "Blessed shall he be that taketh thy children and dasheth them against the stones." [2] There is a more withering fire than the fire of Krupp guns. To it the invulnerable, steel-clad autocrat, wherever he is, must succumb. This war, by God's grace, will gather up the latent power of God-inspired wills, and hurl it at the heads of men drunk with blood, till even they see the doom of their reckless sinning. We may wish that all this could have been done quietly by talk; but great advances have most often come out of the disastrous and mammoth failure of human freedom run to license. Our task is not to wail, but to arise, and to quit us like men filled with the Holy Ghost. The hope of this war is that an astonishing number of people cannot be reconciled to it. Hitherto wars have been taken more or less as matter of course. We see in this rising energy of public opinion a sign of the progress of the world. God's Will is making way with unprecedented celerity.

[1] *Psalm* lxviii. [2] *Psalm* cxxxvii.

There is one note of this war which is more solemn than all the rest. To our ease-loving, luxury-loving age it comes as a stupendous warning, that if war is taken out of the world with its sternness and discipline, we must be stern with ourselves in other ways. William James once attempted a plan by which what he called our gilded youth could be hardened if war were taken out of men's characters: his plan was compulsory manual labor of the most exacting and disagreeable sort for a term of years.[1] War, in spite of its pain and injustice to the weak, has toughened the fibre of the suffering nation. God is often discovered out of the depths of the misery of war. Poets, long dumb, break forth into immortal song. The wasting of material things thrusts men back upon the eternal and the spiritual. So now, out of the world-misery of the present war, men may gather something better than gold and comfort and friends and earthly life: they may find God.

And finding God men may search their hearts more shrewdly for the causes of the war. In England today the most dignified journals are placing the blame upon the German Emperor. The special prayers for the time of war set forth by the Church of England strike an entirely different note. When England assembles to face God, the sense of sin abounds: God is asked to forgive His people and to grant peace. So, before the war and its results are ended, all thoughtful men will be beating their breasts, and asking to know what in them caused this insult to humanity.[2]

[1] "The Moral Equivalent of War," in *Memories and Studies*, pp. 267 ff.

[2] In the London *Guardian* of October 1, 1914, this letter appeared, being an Englishman's effort to discover God's hand in the destruction of Rheims Cathedral: "In view of the Bishop of London's impressive sermon in St. Paul's at the commencement of the war, the following

For the future, every man will know that if the world is to free itself from war, that freedom must be bought with a price. Each individual man must resolutely discipline himself; he must trim away the self-indulgence of his will, he must graft his will into the Will of God. There must be more worship, private and public, more sacrifice for neighbours and for the world, a more pitiless flagellation of all selfishness and worldliness in our own souls. We must, by the ideals of citizenship, build up our own nation to be a saint among the nations of the world: the national honour as sensitive as the individual's honour; the nation's brotherliness as tender as the brotherliness of St. Francis; the nation's love for men, a shadow of the sacrifice of Christ.

And what is the sacrifice of Christ? He too prayed, "Thy Will be done." He had prayed a little while

personal experience may perhaps be of interest. Quite recently I took an intimate friend of mine to see the Cathedral of Rheims and renew my recollection of the city. We arrived in the evening and found the Cathedral closed. Wandering around its noble exterior, we came upon the Bishop's Palace. It also was closed and deserted, and disfigured by the words 'Propriété de l'Etat' painted across its front, for the Bishop had been turned out by the anti-religious Government of France. Later in the evening, after having revived some of our historical associations, as we had nothing better to do, we went to the theatre. What we saw and heard there I could not sully your pages by attempting to describe. Suffice it to say that it would be difficult to conceive anything more revoltingly indecent, immoral, and blasphemous. At every fresh innuendo or touch of animalism the whole audience applauded, and many of the women looked round and the men laughed. We sat out the performance as long as we could in order to be able to express an opinion afterwards. I think, Sir, in our just condemnation of vandalism and outrages we are apt to forget the mysterious way in which God makes use of secondary causes in His chastisement of peoples and nations, as was so well suggested in the fine sermon to which I have referred. Let us beware of the self-righteous prayer of the Pharisee or we also may bring the wrath of God upon ourselves. — A. W. R."

before that the cup might pass. We are apt to picture the victory in Gethsemane as a prostrate submission, a blind resignation. Is it not more likely that in the perfect prayer of submission to the Will of God, Jesus Christ received for answer the sublime confidence that He was to gather up in His conquest all the little sufferings of humanity scattered abroad and seemingly wasted, He was to carry them up into His triumph? And is it not certain that He did not walk as a crushed malefactor among the Roman soldiers, but strode down the hill towards the city with His head high and with His eyes shining? For He was not only the Son of God, He was also the head of humanity gathering into Himself all the mistakes and sins of men, and, by carrying them up into God's Will, was to blot them out and to win, not only for Himself, but for all men of all time, the summit of all victory. It is through the Holy Spirit that men, sharing in this victory, may mount to the same height, through penitence, through discipline, through sacrifice, through love, through surrender, till the Will of God is the will of men, the will of nations, the will of the world.

VI

Now, since the Holy Spirit has to do with all our life to the last eternity, what shall we say of the future? We have no right to separate the world visible and the world invisible; for in the Holy Spirit they are one world.

We wonder why the Holy Spirit does not tell us plainly of the future, especially the ranges of it beyond the mountains called death. The suspense of not knowing makes us doubt. This is not reasonable doubt, for

suspense marks life on this side the great mountains. We are constantly fretting because we do not know. We cannot even make a considerable journey without worry. We speculate whether the luggage sent forward will be safe. Will the next inn be quiet? Will the altitude of the mountain town chosen for the next month be too high for one who is with us? Will there be enough money for all the days before the boat takes us home? Will the homeward voyage be secure? All these are suspenses of life, made up shortly by the actual conditions, which show the worries for the most part groundless; and however bad the event, it is some way transcended and we go on believing in the reality and stability of the present life. So we ought to think of the future. We fret about its manners and customs, its length and quality; but all the time it is there in God's keeping, awaiting our coming to it. We must trust Him for immortality as we trust Him for tomorrow.

Moreover, we must not dwell too much on the clouds and darkness of life, fearing their prophecy of what is to be. Darkness means a possible growth. One remembers days cold and wet among the high peaks of the world. We count these days lost in our holiday; for the green pines, the masses of rock, the gleaming white of the summits are all hid from us. But we stay on, and at length the sun brings the fine dry days. Behind all the darkness, we then find, the forces of God's mystery have been at work. The new snow has fallen on the peaks; the cascades and brooks are filled to the utmost limit and glisten and sing their loud song as no one living in the mountains recalls for a generation. The time of especial gloom is a fact; it has gone deep into the experience of the summer.

But it has been made up to us, not merely by a sense of contrast, but by a new beauty and a new glory which could not have been but for the forces which went forward to make the beauty and the glory even while they were casting gloom upon us.

As God does not give us infallibility in institutions or men for our guide, so God does not give us knowledge of the future. Instead of either or both He gives us the perpetual companionship of His Holy Spirit. As we live and rest in Him, we acquire the confidence which is beyond knowledge. All these overturnings of what we in our narrow vision think would be helps, drive us in upon the Source of our peace. It is not profitable, therefore, to attempt details even in imagination. But there are two main suggestions about the future which we may safely deduce from our knowledge of the way in which the Holy Spirit has led us hitherto.

(1) The first of these suggestions is that as we have discovered that the Holy Spirit binds us together in this dispensation, as He makes us tend at least to live together as brethren, so this process of unity must increase and move towards perfection. Our joy as individuals will be heightened by the fusion of our individuality into a constantly larger community of interest and of joy. The Church and the Nation both stand for prophecies of what is to be. The individual is not annihilated, but found, when it is merged into some vaster whole. For while it is in the whole, the whole is also in it. The saints lost in God have been sure that they could do all things in Him: this is the explanation of the boasting and humility of St. Paul, and of every other meek and confident saint in history. As Holland can save itself

at any moment by cutting its dykes and letting the sea flood its land; so every man can save himself from his worst foes by tearing down the barriers and letting the Holy Spirit flood his soul. Such an act as that takes away one's isolation, but not one's independence. We are joined to all others who have the Holy Spirit in them, consciously and gladly. We are as near to them as to ourselves. The love of the Spirit bestows upon us the gladness of the lover, and we turn, each to his neighbour, saying, "I am thou."

The dream of the socialist and reformer may have in it much that is unworthy and vindictive. But a premonition of the future shows itself in the cry for coöperation rather than rivalry and competition, in union rather than in selfishness, in sharing rather than in keeping. The things we try to do and bungle over, making a sad mess of our hopes, are quite surely very often the promptings of the Holy Spirit, trying to teach us the celestial lessons which He shall complete in another stage in life. So we fumble among the efforts at Church unity, and international peace, and a federation of the peoples of the earth. We yearn for unity. The future will in some nobler way than we can conceive give us this loving and radiant unity in the Holy Spirit of God.

(2) The only other suggestion is that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit is giving to us, as to the ancient Hebrews and the early Christians, something akin to the Messianic Hope and the speedy expectation of the Parousia. We too pray, "Thy kingdom come." We too, amid all the wreckage and weeping of the world, are optimists. It is the lesson of Christian history that God has had hold of it at every turn. Through the Holy Spirit, men have known that far

as they might wander, they never could be outside the range of His care. This knowledge gives the man who believes in the Holy Spirit a sense of security that is to the world absurd. Before Christianity the Babylonians doubtless made themselves merry over the Hebrew captives who were heard to sing of a recovered Jerusalem and a mighty king who should lead his people to conquest. But the hope which upheld the early Christians was more buoyant still. The callous Romans could not comprehend a form of what they called Stoicism which could send men and women into the arena of death with smiles and spiritual songs. They admired as they ridiculed the hope of these martyrs that the future held for each of them a crown of life. In so far as we are the descendants of the early saints we too pierce the discouragements and evils of our time. We know that the future of the world both visible and invisible is ever tending upward towards perfection. This is not because we can argue a case for the tendencies that we can see and touch; it is not because we have any infallible testimony; it is simply because we believe in the Holy Spirit.

We see our beloved pass to the invisible future, and our hope for them does not depend on their merits, but on their willingness to receive the best. Even for the young who pass before their earthly work is begun, we know that a heavenly work awaits, which shall exceed all accomplishment of which we know.

"Our God, to Thee sweet praises rise
From youthful lips in Paradise;
From boys fair robed in spotless white
And nourished in the courts of light.
In arbours they, where soft and low
The blessed streams of light do flow:

And Gabriel, a shepherd strong,
Doth gently guide their flocks along.
God's sons are they on that far coast,
And nurslings of the Holy Ghost."

That is the assurance. The Holy Ghost, who brings us close to God and close to our brother men, will surely lead the vanished ones into the friendship of the saints and heroes, into the fulfilment of God's supreme plan, into the love of God Himself.

And the songs of victory shall also ring over the hills and valleys of earth. The Kingdom of Christ is coming to the visible world. Little by little, the Will of God is revealed to us, and we struggle to fulfil it in ourselves and in those whom we can persuade to help. We look for the appearing of Christ in some new glory, which we dare not even imagine. We cannot tell when or how this shall be. But our God is the God of hope, and it is our Christian nature to believe all things, to hope all things. We believe that when the Great Day shall come, the visible world and the world invisible shall flow together. Then the Holy Spirit, who unites men to one another and to God, shall bring all men from every age, from every planet into the fulness and unity of the beatific vision of God.

VII

What do we most chiefly learn, from history and our own experience, concerning the Holy Spirit?

First, the Holy Spirit is patient. He waits long. He endures all things.

Secondly, His only force is love. Otherwise He is defenceless.

Thirdly, He is, by His unresting care, drawing all

men, if they will but let Him, to the Father, that at the last the will of the world shall be brought into the Will of God.

Finally, He holds before the world the Perfect Love of Christ, that every man, being made glad by His friendship both human and divine, may share with Christ His everlasting victory.

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